THE
NATION

SEPTEMBER 14, 1957 . . 25c

THE PRICE JUGGLERS . . *Michael D. Reagan*

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE S[illegible] TE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Descent to Realities

Dear Sirs: Mr. Matthew Josephson has made a significant contribution to society in foreign-policy thinking by his scientific dissection of the "limited nuclear-war myth" (*Nation*, August 31). It would be a thousand times easier, as he so admirably points out, to negotiate a treaty of peace than to limit a war between the great powers. The idea that the "enemy" can be relied upon to observe the rules of an "elaborate plan" for the death of only a few millions instead of several hundred millions when the architects of the "plan" themselves assert he cannot even be relied upon to keep peaceful agreements in his own interest, is sheer fantasy.

There probably has never been a more dangerous attempt to corrupt and confuse the thinking of the American people than current talk and writing about limited warfare between polar powers in the A- and H-bomb age. Even if it were possible to limit war as proposed, such a war would make the total warfare of the past century look like a tea party.

Is it not about time to descend from the messianic clouds of "world mission" to political realities, and to recognize this "holy war" propaganda about world domination by evil systems for what it may be: impulse projection, which the psychologists define as attributing to others one's own motives? May not the world-gendarmerie policy of containment à la Kennan-Truman-Dulles, like its nineteenth-century prototype—the Holy Alliance of Austria, Prussia and Russia—prove beyond the powers of the United States? Is not change inevitable, and are not those who would deny it likely to be swept aside?

HUGH B. HESTER
Brigadier General, U.S.A. (Retired)
Philadelphia, Pa.

The True Portugal

Dear Sirs: The following information was received from opposition sources within Portugal, and made public earlier this year in the newsletter of the English Section of the National Congress of Labor of Spain in Exile.

On February 14, 1957, the Republican oppositionist, Joaquin Lemos Oliveira, died a violent death at the hands of the P.I.D.E. (Internal Police for the Defense of the State) in their headquarters on Heroismo Street, in Oporto, Portugal. He had been under arrest since January 29. The P.I.D.E. subjected Oliveira to prolonged torture: for seven days he was deprived of sleep, and forced to remain standing in a brilliantly-lit room. On February 8, he was able to smuggle out a letter to his wife telling her not to worry if something happened to him. On February 14, he was dead. An autopsy was carried out in secret and before the legal lapse of time. In spite of these measures, it is known that Oliveira's body bore the marks of terrible abuse, and a probably fatal head wound.

The murder of Oliveira was the subject of a circular issued and distributed nationally by the clandestine opposition. In the town of Viana del Cactelo, Manuel Finza Junior was arrested and accused of distributing this circular. Finza, who was seventy years old, and who had edited a libertarian journal, *A Voz do Faminto*, in the pre-Salazar days, submitted to a repertory of P.I.D.E. tortures, succumbing during the fourth day of the "statue" torture, described previously.

These crimes demand the attention of civilized men everywhere. It is apparently tempting to think of Portugal exclusively in terms of her climate, the charm of owning a villa at Estoril, her rate of exchange: but Portugal, as these crimes show, is a diseased polity, a home of resistance, terror and death.

NORMAN RUSH
New York City

Treason Trials

Dear Sirs: In December of last year the South African government staged nationwide dawn raids, arresting 156 persons from all walks of life on charges of high treason. They were flown within a matter of hours by military aircraft to imprisonment in Johannesburg to await trial, leaving their dependents without breadwinners.

While it is not possible at this stage to argue the innocence or guilt of the accused, the arrested represent the most outspoken and courageous opponents of our authoritarian government. The preparatory examination, started in December, is still proceeding, and is not expected to conclude before September. The cost of providing the accused with legal aid and of providing their families with the minimum necessities of life, is now estimated at $280,000—a sum which can only be raised through the generous help of sympathizers.

One of our fund-raising efforts is to be an auction sale of original paintings and autographed or valuable editions of the works of writers and poets, staged in Cape Town later this year.

We wish to appeal to the members of these professions in your country who have not already done so, and to collectors who may wish to donate one of their possessions, to send us a work for this urgent cause. Contributions may be sent direct to P.O. Box 1039, Cape Town, South Africa.

RONALD M. SEGAL
Treasurer, Treason
Trials Defense Funds
Cape Town

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

121 ●

ARTICLES

122 ● Preconditions to Disarmament
by HAROLD GREER

124 ● Syria: a Warning
by GEOFFREY BARRACLOUGH

126 ● The Price Jugglers
by MICHAEL D. REAGAN

128 ● McClellan: the Grim Prober
by AL TOFFLER

131 ● Nobody Reads Any More
by DAVID CORT

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

133 ● Unquiet Flows the Elbe
by FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

134 ● The Wayward Teamsters
by PAUL BRESLOW

135 ● Homecoming (poem)
by ROBERT KRIEGER

136 ● Not For Adventure's Sake
by ROBERT HATCH

136 ● Break-Up of a Caste Culture
by WILLIAM BITTNER

137 ● Democracy in a Planned Society
by H. H. WILSON

138 ● On Beauty (poem)
by MORRIS RENEK

139 ● Letter from Munich
by WILLIAM WEAVER

140 ● Anomalous Oyster (poem)
by BERNARD HERINGMAN

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 140)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts

Harold Clurman, Theatre
Anne W. Langman, Television
M. L. Rosenthal, Poetry
Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

Staff Contributors: W. Macmahon Ball, Carolus, Maxwell Geismar, Harvey O'Connor, Andrew Roth, Howard K. Smith, Dan Wakefield, Alexander Werth, H. H. Wilson.

The Nation, Sept. 14, 1957, Vol. 185, No. 7

The Nation, published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1957, in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Second class mail privileges authorized at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three years $20. Additional postage per year, Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1957

VOLUME 185, NUMBER 7

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Faubus Insurrection

In ordering a contingent of the National Guard to protect Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, against imminent invasion by nine neatly-dressed, heroically polite Negro children, Governor Orval Faubus has finally liberated the conscience of the South. No longer need the South's genuine conservatives—those who are deeply attached to local and regional traditions—feel that they must support "a way of life" out of loyalty to their forefathers. Their forefathers would despise Faubus. The insurrection he has launched has nothing to do with Fort Sumter or Shiloh or Gettysburg. Faubus is a rebel without a cause other than an ignorantly-conceived self-interest. His insurrection has dispelled the fog of post-bellum rhetoric about "federal troops and bayonets" that has so beclouded the desegregation issue. The troops in Little Rock are *state* troops; they were ordered into action not by the President but by the Governor of a Southern state; their mission is not to protect Arkansas' sovereignty, but to advance the political interests of a hill-billy demagogue.

The facts are plain. The Faubus Insurrection was completely uncalled for. A certain kind of ignorance, with deep historic roots, is almost endemic in sections of Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi; but Arkansas is an enlightened state. Little Rock authorities had not asked the Governor to intervene. Indeed, they were surprised by his action. His order was preceded by no acts of violence nor by any threats of violence nor by any manifestation of possible violence. Integration had been achieved in all the state colleges and in several communities less sophisticated than Little Rock. A plan for a phased integration had been prepared for the city with full community support. Two individuals who campaigned for membership on the Board of Education based on their support of this plan were overwhelmingly elected. The immediate issue was whether, pursuant to this plan, nine Negro children should be integrated with 2,000 other enrollees at Central High. Against this background, the only conceivable motive for the Governor's weird action was the notion that he might win re-election to a third term if he succeeded in stirring up trouble where none existed. The insurrection he launched was as mindless, as pointless, as the ludicrous filibuster of Senator J. Strom Thurmond; self-interest is still the basest of passions.

Neither Faubus' Insurrection nor Thurmond's filibuster has anything to do with Southern conservatism. General George Edward Pickett did not lead that gallant charge at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863, for petty personal advantage nor was he marching against nine unarmed Negro children. The gallant rebels of another period—Pickett and Lee and Jackson and Beauregard—would have nothing but contempt for Faubus and Thurmond. Even the old-style Southern racists and rabble-rousers would scorn these crafty fakers. The Tom Watsons of another day were mean and cruel, but they did not point bayonets at children; they were crazy and proud of it. Faubus is not demented; he can't even plead sadism as a defense. With this insurrection, therefore, the South has suffered its worst defeat since Appomattox; its honor has been besmirched not by Yankees or carpet-baggers, but by natives of the piney woods.

The Faubus Insurrection will be put down—that is not the issue. The immediate question is: will the people of Arkansas, and their responsible leaders, put up with this affront to their good name and reputation? In brief, how many abettors of treason reside in the state? What do the state's Senators—J. William Fulbright and John J. McClellan—have to say about this spit-ball insurrection? What about the state's delegation in Congress? Or its opinion leaders and industrialists? The people of Arkansas should, as we hope they will, insist that the privilege of putting the Faubus Insurrection down is theirs. After all, Faubus is their governor; they elected him.

"The Great Manhunt"

The business journals gravely admonish that Washington is faced with a dangerous dilemma: it is getting more and more difficult to recruit top-flight business executives for government service. The scapegoat most frequently cited in these admonitory sermons is the conflict-of-interest statute (actually five laws which, covering all federal officers and employees, from Cabinet officers to postal clerks, prohibit certain acts, as receiv-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing compensation for services rendered a private interest, representing the government in dealings with a private concern in which the official has a direct or indirect financial interest, etc.). *Business Week*, for example, goes so far as to suggest that The Great Manhunt has become a symptom of "something fundamentally and dangerously wrong with the whole approach to the problem of getting good men for high office." The implication, of course, is that the conflict-of-interest statutes should be amended or repealed.

It is doubtless true that the Administration is having a hard time to recruit top business executives for policy-making positions. Nor can it be denied that the conflict-of-interest statutes are a major deterrent. But it is a big jump to conclude from all this that the statutes should be amended or repealed. Is top talent to be found only in higher corporate circles? According to *Business Week*, the available alternative sources would be "only the second-raters, the professional politicians, and the various groups such as college professors and journalists who live more or less by choice without the burdens of substantial wealth." But during World War II some excellent administrative performances were recorded in Washington by individuals recruited from some of these so-called second-rate sources. Even earlier, the New Deal had developed splendid executive and administrative talents from the same sources only to have them appropriated, sooner or later, by big business.

Ironically it is from the pages of *Business Week* that one culls the evidence to refute the argument that corporate executives constitute an indispensable source of talent for top policy-making and administrative positions in government. In its August 24 issue, the magazine carried a report of a recent survey by the American Management Association of 335 top corporate executives—"335 symbols of success." This survey does not confirm the popular impression of the man-on-the-twenty-fifth-floor as "a well-rounded corporate statesman." In most cases, his experience has been confined to a single company or, in any case, to a single industry. He is not, on the average, widely read or travelled; more than a third of the sample were found to be working today in their home towns. Business executives readily acknowledge that their corporate experience has narrowed the range of their interests; they complain of a lack of time to read or study or travel. To succeed, the executive has had "to put on a pair of blinders to shut out everything except business. He turns himself into a specialist running a company." What most executives read, apart from corporate working papers and business reports, are popular magazines and escape fiction; their favorite TV viewing is football. Only 17 per cent have received diplomas for graduate work and only 35 per cent have had *general* administrative experience. Almost a fifth of the sample frankly admit that they got where they are by inheriting their jobs.

If the facts reported in this report are correct—and it is billed as a survey which gives a deeper-than-average insight into such matters—then the Administration should be assiduously seeking new fields for recruitment.

PRECONDITIONS of DISARMAMENT . . *Harold Greer*

Washington

THERE CAN be no real choice between Mr. Stassen and Mr. Zorin on whether the London arms talks have brought progress or more stalemate. While it is tempting to agree with Mr. Stassen that the Russians have frequently shouted No before saying Yes, the Soviet rejection of the Western proposals has been stated in so many different ways, and there are so many valid reasons for it from the Soviet point of view, that it is unrealistic to refuse to accept it for what it is.

Indeed, one wonders whether Mr. Stassen's perennial optimism, charged as it is with dreams of a political future in Pennsylvania, is really very helpful any longer. No doubt hope must spring eternal on disarmament, but it should be tempered by a willingness to face facts, and if there is one simple criticism to be made of American policy on disarmament—especially since the Eisenhower Administration took over—it has been an unwillingness to face facts.

This is not to deny that the Soviet Union may well indicate, in the next few months, a readiness to accept some part or parts of the Western proposals, and Mr. Stassen will appear to be vindicated. But that is beside the point. The essential broad purpose of the London negotiations during the past five months was to produce some measure of agreement before new factors, either political or military, came along to change the international power equation so radically that the nature of the disarmament problem itself would be changed. This purpose has not been realized and time has run out on the negotiations. Soviet progress on the intercontinental ballistic missile has clearly got in the way of agreement at this time, as have the approaching West German elections. Similarly, the recent Kremlin purges have brought the usual aftermath of belligerency and muscle-flexing which Soviet leaders have always used to mask their bid for time in which to consolidate their new power.

HAROLD GREER is Washington and U.N. correspondent of the Toronto Star.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In short, if and when the West next has a go at disarmament, the problem will be in a new context, requiring new approaches if not new answers. Does anyone really believe, for example, that the United States now wants to reserve outer space "exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes" (Section VI of the Western proposals) as long as Russia has an ICBM and the United States doesn't? Or that Russia will accept any kind of international inspection as long as there is a chance the Socialists may beat Adenauer and take West Germany out of NATO?

Put in this way, it is possible to see why the London talks have failed, and why future talks will fail if the United States and the West persist in their current approach. This approach is too ambitious; it seeks to accomplish too much in the time available. It is, in a phrase, predicated on the assumption that the world will stand still while the negotiations go on. But of course the world does not stand still and by the time Mr. Stassen has squared himself with Admiral Radford, and Mr. Dulles has comforted Chancellor Adenauer, and the American position has been cleared through NATO, the proposals themselves have become literally antiquated—witness Section VI above. Even if the Russians were disposed to consider our proposals, we tempt them into delay and rejection by offering them just before the U.N. General Assembly is to meet and the West Germans are to vote.

NOT ONLY IS time against agreement in the short run, it is very much against it in the long run. As a term to describe the subject of the negotiations in London, "disarmament" is already a misnomer. The Western proposals themselves recognize that there can be no real disarmament until the outstanding political issues have been solved. What these proposals actually seek is a halt to the nuclear-arms race and some limitations on the way in which weapons already produced can be used. They assume the continuing presence, rather than the absence, of deterrent power; indeed, the main Soviet complaint has been that they are designed to make the doctrine of massive retaliation more efficient. Nevertheless, they do seek, by agreement now, to avoid the situation which will inevitably result from the lack of agreement: the diffusion of nuclear weapons into many hands, and the mass production of delivery methods against which limitations, in the form of inspection safeguards, would be worthless if not impossible.

Yet Mr. Dulles and Mr. Stassen continue to advance complicated "package" proposals in the belief that time is on their side, that if the West will only remain firm and keep plugging away, the Kremlin will eventually give way. But in point of fact, it has been Mr. Dulles who has given way, while the Soviet Union has so far conceded virtually

nothing. Mr. Dulles now says that acceptance of the "open skies" plan is no longer a prerequisite to further negotiation; there can be inspection in Europe without a German settlement, and there can be a suspension of nuclear testing on certain conditions (which, one suspects, will be overthrown by world opinion before long). Against this, Russia has agreed in principle that disarmament has to be subject to inspection.

It can be argued, of course, that this only proves the United States wants an agreement while the Soviet Union does not. But an agreement to do what? Not an agreement which will materially reduce the power of either side to wage war, nor even one which reduces the necessity for armaments, but an agreement which insures retaliation in the event of war. Certainly to the extent that such insurance would increase American deterrent power, it is much to be desired, but let us at least admit the Soviet leaders would have to be complete fools to give away the secrecy upon which their domestic as well as their international position depends. "From profound distrust," as Mr. Walter Lippmann has noted, "we are to jump to full disclosure." It is a jump which can hardly be expected of the U. S. Congress, much less the Kremlin.

If there is any escape from this morass, it probably lies in a re-examination in the United States of the role of nuclear weapons in foreign policy, and how a disarmament agreement may profitably curtail the former without restricting the latter. It is one thing to depend upon nuclear power to deter the big war, and quite another thing to use it to quell the small war, but it is a distinction which seems lost upon official Washington. What we should fear militarily in the future, and therefore should seek to guard against through a first-step disarmament agreement, is not so much a surprise Soviet attack on the United States or its allies, but the shadowy powder-keg incidents and brush-fire wars which could embroil the great powers in a big war.

Of course, if one believes with Mr. Dulles that nuclear weapons have become so clean and conventional that it is possible to wage a small nuclear war, then the problem does not arise. But if one believes, as most of Mr. Dulles' allies in Korea believed, that a limited nuclear war is really a contradiction in terms, then it would seem prudent to seek, through international agreement, to curb the production and distribution of nuclear weapons and to limit their use as severely as possible. The Western proposals of August 26 did, it is true, contain language in this direction, but it all hinged on Soviet acceptance of inspection, and the offer of a qualified ban on the use of nuclear weapons was clearly thrown in at the last moment in the hope of keeping the negotiations alive.

The problem is not to find language acceptable to the Soviet Union on these points; Moscow has already indicated its deep concern by supporting the International Atomic Energy Agency, which contains provisions for controlling the production and distribution of fissionable mate-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rial more far-reaching than anything to be found in the August 26 proposals. The problem is to divorce the nuclear-weapons issue from the surprise-attack issue, and to admit that agreement on the latter is just not possible at this time. What is possible are simple and obvious agreements which are self-enforceable in that the penalty of violation, in terms of world opinion, will far outweigh any military advantage to be gained. An agreement to suspend nuclear testing would be an obvious starting point.

Whether the disarmament talks will move in this direction will not depend initially on the United States, but on the outcome of the Soviet plan to broaden the negotiations by bringing in other countries. There is more support for this proposal at the United Nations than the United States cares to admit; Canada, for example, is a member of the five-power Disarmament Subcommittee, but has long felt there should be wider representation, especially from Asia. If this occurs, the power of decision may, in effect, be taken away from the powers who have created the dilemma but proven themselves incapable of solving it.

SYRIA: A WARNING . . *by Geoffrey Barraclough*

London

SYRIA has disappeared from the news as rapidly as it caught the headlines, shouldered aside to make room for hair-raising stories of Russia's intercontinental rocket. How easy it is to forget the whole business, to say the newspapers exaggerated (as in fact they did), and that after all the hullabaloo nothing very startling has happened. Certainly a fortnight after the excitement the Middle Eastern scene does not look very different from before. But that is not the whole story. If events in Syria had been just one more incident in the rough-and-tumble of Arab politics, we could forget them with impunity. But at the beginning of the present year the United States jumped into the Middle East with both feet, and that is what makes the difference. Jordan and Syria were only the first two rounds in the struggle that began with the Eisenhower Doctrine, and the question now is: what next?

The commentator in Washington who described events in Syria as "the West's greatest diplomatic reverse since the Egyptian arms deal," was probably exaggerating; but no one is going to deny that something went wrong in American calculations. The question is whether the outcome was an accident which does not affect the fundamental soundness of American policy, or whether it was a consequence of a weakness of that policy. Any government may, in the nature of things, experience an occasional reverse through no fault of its own; and it is perhaps natural for the State Department to take this line. Syria, it is pointed out, was never a very good bet from an American point of view; while, on the other hand, it was always known that the Eisenhower Doctrine could not cover every contingency, and that if an Arab country was not prepared to ask for American aid, nothing short of direct and unprovoked intervention could force it to enter or remain within the American camp.

THE significance of this argument, so far as the future is concerned, lies in the implicit suggestion that, all in all, the State Department did as well as could be expected in adverse circumstances. If some means can be found for stopping up the holes in the Eisenhower Doctrine which the Syrian episode exposed to view, so much the better. But otherwise there is no reason for American diplomacy to depart from the lines laid down at the beginning of the year.

What we have to ask is whether the facts justify this complacency. In the first place, it is not only a question of the Eisenhower Doctrine. On the contrary, we have at this point to distinguish—and that not merely for the sake of getting the historical record straight—between the Eisenhower Doctrine and what, for six months, has gone on under cover of it. As regards the former, it is possible to argue (as the State Department has argued all along) that, taken alone, it is innocuous and levels a pistol at nobody's head. It is true that this argument is not as plausible as it looks. First of all, it was obvious from the start that, whatever the theory, the promulgation of the Eisenhower Doctrine would in fact be treated by Russia as a provocation, and that the Communists would not be slow to demonstrate that the game was one which two could play. Hence, after Jordan, anyone could foresee the sort of Russian retort which came in Syria. Secondly, instead of stabilizing the Middle East, as was its declared intention, the Eisenhower Doctrine has added a new factor of instability by weakening the cohesion of the Arab world. The Middle East today is more divided than it was at the beginning of 1957, and consequently more exposed to great-power rivalries. In other words, the decision to intervene actively has done nothing to make the American position in the area more secure, and there are many indications that it has lost the United States much of the respect and friendship on the part of the Arabs which it won at Suez.

But the decisive factor is that the Eisenhower Doctrine cannot be—and (many people outside the United States would maintain) was never intended to be—taken alone. On the contrary, it has to be taken in conjunction with the military agreement with King Saud, which, though perhaps not logically connected, seem-

GEOFFREY BARRACLOUGH, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is professor of international affairs at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ed to be its immediate consequence. And though there is nothing in the Eisenhower Doctrine justifying interference with the internal régime of Arab countries, it is no secret that the United States has for months on end used every available form of economic pressure to unseat the left-wing government of Syria. These activities—they are only a sample of what is otherwise known—lend weight to the Soviet charge that the Eisenhower Doctrine is only a cover for active American penetration in the Middle East. They also suffice to explain—and, at least in Syrian eyes, to justify—the Syrian reaction. Syria has not gone Communist overnight; it would probably have acted no differently if Russia had still been ruled by a reactionary Czar. But its resistance to American pressure is not difficult to understand. We in the West are educated to take Middle East pronouncements with a grain of salt; but when the new Syrian Chief-of-Staff said he wanted good relations with America, but not "at the cost of Syrian independence," he was probably speaking the literal truth. In default, he has turned to Russia. The paradoxical upshot is that Russia's foothold in the Middle East is now firmer than when the Eisenhower Doctrine was promulgated; the "power vacuum" of which we heard so much, is being filled—by both sides.

IS IT IN the interests of the West for this process to go on? Sometimes one is left with the impression that it is really what the State Department wants. After all, would it not simplify the issue if we knew exactly where everybody stood? Might not both parties soon sit down quietly on either side of the demarcation line, as they have done in large degree in the Far East, and work out some practical form of coexistence? Already it is being calculated that the Syrian affair may not have turned out so badly after all, if it frightens Colonel Nasser into Mr. Dulles' arms; and already, on the other hand, Russia is offering Persia the same sort of loan on the same sort of terms as proved irresistible to the Syrians. With Saud and Hussein in the State Department's pocket, the area for maneuver is rapidly diminishing; a couple more skirmishes, it seems, a couple more rounds in the contest, and we shall not be far from the stability we all crave. Just as Europe, the Western Pacific and Southeast Asia have been partitioned between the Communist and the anti-Communist worlds, so the Middle East in its turn will be divided into Russian and American orbits.

BUT this argument overlooks some cardinal facts. First of all, the Arabs themselves. It is tempting to write off Pan-Arabism as claptrap; but in spite of inter-Arab jealousies and rivalries, they are no more likely to sit quietly by while their lands are divided between Russia and America than are the Germans to accept permanent partition. Secondly, there is the political geography of the area. The Middle East is not Europe, with its old, established boundaries; interdependence rather than separation is the order of the day, and we shall be hard put to find a dividing line that does not work to the disadvantage of the West. The West may control the oil supplies in Iraq and Saudi Arabia; but Syria stands astride the pipelines to the Mediterranean—and, to see the implications, we have only to recall what happened when it cut them at the time of the Suez crisis. Add to this the inherent instability of the Middle East, the revolutionary social ferment springing from backwardness and poverty, and it is obvious how much the West risks by playing a game of poker. Nowhere in the world are there greater opportunities for fishing in troubled waters, nowhere is it easier for Russia, if it so wants, to find a cause to sponsor. It is the simplest thing in the world to wager rubles against dollars; and if the scale of the Russian loan to Syria is any measure, the former can outbid the latter. On these lines a lively fight is possible; but it is hard to see how either side can win. Yet it is the West, not Russia, that needs the resources of the Middle East; it is sufficient for Russia to deny them to the West.

It is thus obvious that time is not on the West's side. Moreover, to continue as before is not only inadequate but is now impossible. Already the State Department has been forced to recognize that, in the current state of Arab opinion, the sort of pressure that was exercised against Syria can no longer be used. Active intervention by Britain or the United States, it is now seen, would only unite the Arab world behind Syria. Even the idea, widely sponsored at first, of using Turkey and Jordan and Iraq to set up some sort of *cordon sanitaire,* is now realized to be impracticable; for the very fact that the United States would welcome hostile Arab moves against Syria is in itself sufficient to prevent them happening. Hence, unless the United States is prepared to remain on the defensive, an alternative policy must be sought. The only basis, after the Syrian events, is negotiation with Soviet Russia. Russia is in the Middle East, whether we like it or not, and nothing we can now do can prevent Russia from making its influence felt; and in any case, the only way to check the drift towards the consolidation of hostile camps in this region, which is so vital for the West, is direct negotiation between the two powers principally concerned.

Such negotiations were, of course, proposed by Russia in February last, and have now been offered again. These proposals open an opportunity to test out Russian intentions which it would be wise to take. The alternative is an arms race in the Middle East which will profit no one; nor will it benefit the West, with its special interests in the area, if events are left to drift until the two hostile *blocs* are firmly entrenched. The overriding interest of the West in the Middle East is stability. In spite of the Eisenhower Doctrine such stability is farther away than ever, and the time has come for a new initiative. Its basis must be to isolate the Middle East from great-power rivalries and pressures, to build up instead of breaking down the "neutralist" Arab *bloc.* This calls for a change of object as well as of method; and it has yet to be seen whether the West has a statesman of the calibre to understand the need and grasp the opportunity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PRICE JUGGLERS . . *by Michael D. Reagan*

SENATOR Estes Kefauver is well known as an ardent anti-truster and champion of a competitive economy. His current inquiry into administered pricing appears to have been designed to demonstrate that inflation could be blamed on departures from competitive pricing, and that the greater the concentration of production, the weaker the impact of supply and demand upon prices and the greater the role played by what the Senator calls "the conscious and deliberate action of corporate managers who have the power to set prices at alternative levels." He is, of course, aware of concentrated economic power: his committee has just issued a report showing that the top 200 manufacturing companies increased their share of production from 30 to 37 per cent between 1947 and 1954. But what he apparently sees as an aberration from the norm of private, competitive capitalism, the five noted economists who were his first witnesses almost unanimously described as a *new* norm—the norm of corporate administration of resources.

Edwin G. Nourse, J. K. Galbraith, Gardiner C. Means and John R. Moore all told the committee that, as Nourse put it, "the economic institutions and business practices described as 'administered pricing' grow naturally and properly out of the conditions of modern industrialism and . . . they *may* be so used as to promote both economic growth and business stability." The economists disagreed on the extent to which bigness contributed to the substitution of administered for market prices, Means being dubious of the correlation and Galbraith pressing it. But they were all of one mind in accepting administered pricing (including administered wage-setting by union leaders) as an accomplished fact of the modern economy, and in decrying the traditional view that both bigness and administered pricing are somehow improper. The only economist to dispute the prevalence of administered pricing was Richard Ruggles, and he did not by any means deny the phenomenon completely.

The net effect of the Kefauver committee testimony to date has been to bring into focus a picture of the modern economy sharply at variance with that offered by traditional economics or the ideological description given by free-enterprise defenders. Means, co-author with A. A. Berle of *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, originated the phrase "administered prices" over twenty years ago, but after a flurry of excitement during the depression years, discussion of the consequences of what he had observed was largely restricted to academic circles. Kefauver's hearings, for which the staff director is John M. Blair, a young economist who has published several articles in the Means tradition, have revived the concept.

WHAT does administered pricing mean, and what are some of its consequences? Means's definition is this: "A price set by someone, usually a producer or seller, and kept constant for a period of time and for a series of transactions." Market prices, in contrast, constantly adjust to equate supply and demand; a series of transactions under market conditions takes place at identical prices only by coincidence. Most industrial prices and a large portion of retail prices are administered, as are most wage rates; only in agriculture and some raw materials does the flexible market-price system exist today. For proof of this we need only reflect upon the number of items whose list prices we know offhand simply because they change so infrequently.

Administered prices make possible the modern distribution system upon which mass production rests. Imagine the Sears, Roebuck operation if each sale had to be bargained because prices were not administered! And our complex system of industrial production appears to require the stable expectations which administered prices provide as a foundation for the long-range planning which characterizes our corporate collectives. Yet, despite the prevalence of such pricing and the services it performs, it is not accounted for in classical economic theory.

The essential fact for policy-makers is that administered pricing and wage-setting involve an area of discretion bounded by market forces but within which men, not markets, determine prices and allocate resources. Nourse, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, put his finger on the crux of the matter when he told the Anti-Trust Committee that "administered resources" would be a more apt phrase. For, he said, "giant corporations are making administrative decisions that activate or withhold the use of the economy's capital plant or funds and that massive labor unions set 'withholding prices' on large and strategic blocks of the nation's labor supply." Continuing, he pointed to the issue of power which arises when Adam Smith's Invisible Hand no longer functions and the market economy on which it rests goes out the window. Is Walter Reuther's demand for the four-day week, Nourse asks, compatible with maximum production and purchasing power? Was it responsible administration on the part of auto manufacturers to build cars so large as to make obsolete our garages and require street widening, while water and sewer lines lagged and slum clearance was deferred in many communities?

Another relationship of administered prices to social power lies in the opportunity to choose long or short-run profit maximization. Generally speaking, current discussion assumes —whether correctly or not seems not to be known—that firms emphasizing long-run profitability take a more serious view of their social responsibilities than those stressing immediate profits. The managers' ability to act responsibly is in itself a mark

MICHAEL D. REAGAN teaches in the Department of Political Science at Williams College.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

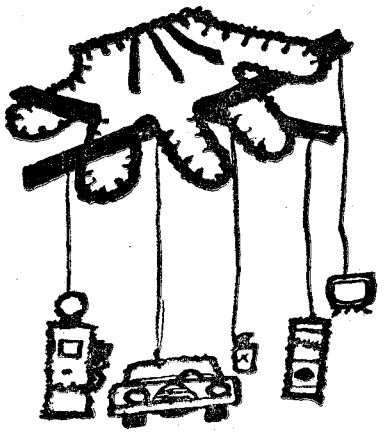
of the new economy of administered resources, for in the classic market economy, competition prevents the accretion of power, and without power there cannot be responsibility.

Aside from the underpinning which administered prices give to our industrial planning, they have certain advantages which it seems unlikely that Senator Kefauver will stress, aiming as he is to show the harmful inflationary thrust which administered pricing seems to have made possible in a period of less than full utilization of existing productive capacity. One advantage is that administered wages decline less rapidly in time of depression than do market wages; another is that price rises may be retarded in the face of increasing demand.

THE QUESTION is how to control the exercise of power over prices, wages and resources to benefit the common good. This is exactly where the adherent of traditional economics runs into trouble. His liberalism abhors social controls other than those of the market; yet he must recognize the potentialities for abuse in the new corporate capitalism. Nourse exemplifies the dilemma. He rejects as the "liquidation" of private enterprise Galbraith's prescription for countervailing power, where government's role is to shore up the weaker of two opposing market forces so that a rough balance of power can then take over as a non-governmental form of social control. A reaffirmation of government support for "free, competitive enterprise," and vigorous administration of the anti-trust statutes, constitute Nourse's policy recommendation. Having offered this, however, he mentions a problem for which such a policy offers no solution. This is the incompatibility of holding government responsible for full employment while large units of business administration accept no responsibility for making their policies conduce to that goal. He seems, in fact, dubious that exhortation to practice "economic statesmanship" will produce the responsibility needed; yet, bound by traditional slogans of the market economy, he is unable or unwilling to grapple with the power which he sees before him.

Assuming that one does not carry anti-trust sufficiently far to restore a pre-industrial competitive market economy—and it is inconceivable that this be done—one must find some way to deal with the discretionary power endowed upon business managers and union leaders by the system of administered resources. With Galbraith, we must hope that "we are past the day when men of goodwill cover any and all failures of imagination with a ringing demand for better enforcement of the Sherman Act." With Means, we must agree that no "purely economic forces . . . will *ensure* that this discretion will be used in a manner that would serve the public interest." If exhortation to maintain stability is not a cure-all, but simply a "logical first step" (Means), then where do we go from here?

The most interesting recommendation offered to the anti-trust subcommittee (and it is one which Kefauver appears to favor as a supplement to anti-trust actions) is Galbraith's for public notice and public discussion, including perhaps Congressional hearings, of major wage or price changes *before* they take place. The actions would then be taken with full knowledge of public reaction, and this advance reaction might bring about some restraint. This strikes one as a good but limited form of control. Prices are not the only area of abuse. Could not the idea of public notice and discussion be usefully extended to the whole range of corporate and union powers? Who is to bear the brunt of dislocation caused by automation? Should the four-day week be adopted? Should large firms be permitted to expand by mergers which increase financial power without improving technological efficiency? Should the Teamsters be permitted to organize all transportation workers into one union?



The quality of our civilization, not just the price of our washing machines, may be affected by discretionary decisions. It would seem that the least we could insist upon is that the general public hear about these decisions and be heard about them before they are executed.

EVEN THIS may not be sufficient: public opinion is not always effective even when heard. Recently a House Armed Services subcommittee revealed that the Cadillac division of G.M. had refused to let the government see its books on an uncompleted tank contract. Within a few days, G.M. President Harlow Curtice ordered the books opened, explaining that he had not previously known of the refusal. This time, public disclosure worked. Two years ago, a Senate investigation of auto dealers' relationships with the manufacturers revealed a very unsavory exercise of economic power which left the dealer at the mercy of the firm whose franchise he held. One response was that of the Ford Motor Company, which established a Dealer Policy Board hailed in the company's annual report as completely "impartial." It consists of a group of major Ford sales executives without any dealer representation. Public disclosure, one concludes, accomplished nothing in this case.

In a recent address, Means called for a new economics; we also need a new political theory. We have reached, or at least are approaching (thanks in part to Senator Kefauver's hearings) a new stage in which public recognition is being made of the shift from private competition to corporate capitalism. But we do not yet have the tools of analysis required for an understanding of how our administered-resources system works, and we lack political principles to fit the control of corporate and union power into a democratic framework designed only to check governmental power.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McCLELLAN: The GRIM PROBER . . *by Al Toffler*

Washington

THE LAST TIME a Catholic ran for President of the United States his running mate was Joseph Robinson, Democratic Senator from the state of Arkansas.

Acute political observers here find this fact perhaps portentous. Today, two decades later, another Catholic, John Kennedy of Massachussetts, is a front-running candidate for the Democratic nod in 1960. And another Arkansas Senator, John L. McClellan, is quietly being talked about as a natural partner for Kennedy.

Selection of a conservative Southerner like McClellan for Vice President would offset the South's anti-Catholic prejudices. It would also help balance out Kennedy's purported liberalism.

McClellan, while warmly praising Kennedy as top-caliber Presidential timber, firmly denies having any ambitions for himself. But McClellan today sits at the head of the Senate's most publicized committee, directing a free-wheeling probe of labor-management racketeering. That he sits there is no accident.

The beginning of the just-ended session of Congress saw a bitter inter-committee fight for jurisdiction over the probe. As *The New York Times* commented at the time: "It is generally recognized on Capitol Hill that a labor investigation, effectively conducted, would yield political 'pay dirt' for two to four years." Technically speaking, the outcome of the squabble was a draw. Neither McClellan's Government Operations Committee nor the Labor Committee got the assignment. It went to a hand-picked special unit. But McClellan emerged as its chairman.

Watching McClellan chair his committee, a witness sees a granite-like face, heavily furrowed, unsmiling. He hears a voice that seems to rumble up out of some dark, forbidding cavern. He hears speech that is Biblical in tone, image and meter.

Making studied use of indignation, McClellan remains austere and distant. But if the sixty-one-year-old Arkansan strikes one as icy now, Senate colleagues are quick to recall that a family life filled with death and anguish, a Baptist upbringing, the conquest of despair through work, all have made him hard. (His first marriage, entered into as a young man, ended in a divorce under especially painful circumstances; two of his sons, born of a second marriage, were killed within a few hours of each other, one in the war and another in an accident; his second wife died of spinal meningitis. He has since married again.) In private, McClellan can radiate charm —and even a restrained warmth— that outsiders never see. Yet his relations with his fellow Senators are seldom more than cordial.

IDEOLOGICALLY, McClellan was a poor choice to head a committee investigating labor. Brought up in rural Arkansas, a state still lightly organized, the problems of a highly industrialized urban society remain strange to him. "John McClellan," says a colleague, "doesn't think of himself as being anti-labor. It's just that the whole thing is sort of foreign to him." Another Senator from the North put it less charitably: "He is a rather extreme conservative without broad sympathies for the groups at the bottom of the economic ladder."

Nevertheless, McClellan, an able lawyer and first-class cross-examiner, has a mind like a vise. In committee hearings he has publicly displayed none of the gross ignorance of collective bargaining and labor exhibited by some of his fellow probers. He appears to be "doing his homework," and learning more and faster than his colleagues.

This isn't making him any less antagonistic to the political ideals of labor unionism. Labor leaders from George Meany down understand that whatever legislative recommendations come from his committee will bear the unmistakable imprint of McClellan's outlook and personality. They have repeatedly expressed alarm that reactionaries—among whom they count McClellan—will seize upon popular disgust with Beckism and Hoffaism to jam through viciously restrictive laws.

This fear is not based on whimsy. Last spring, John McClellan helped introduce an amendment to the civil-rights bill that would have outlawed the union shop and strait-jacketed picketing. Impossible of passage, the amendment was simply designed to kill the civil-rights measure. But it gave more than a clue to McClellan's labor philosophy.

On June 23, 1947, McClellan voted to override President Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act, a law which weakened the pro-labor impact of the Wagner and Norris-LaGuardia acts. Two years later McClellan voted against an amendment intended to soften Taft-Hartley somewhat. In August, 1949, McClellan voted against raising the federal minimum wage from 65 cents to 75 cents. In June, 1952, he joined in a move to force President Truman to use the Taft-Hartley Act against striking steelworkers. More recently, McClellan voted against an amendment to the Bacon-Davis Act. The amendment gave the Secretary of Labor, rather than state and local authorities, the power to fix minimum wages in interstate highway construction. This was of vital importance to building-trades unionists who desired federal jurisdiction.

In a careful tally by the AFL-CIO's political division, these five basic votes in McClellan's labor record are balanced out by only two "favorable" votes. The Senator voted to override an Eisenhower veto of a postal-workers' pay raise; and he opposed a 1953 measure which would have permitted government agencies to fire career employes arbitrarily.

On the Select Committee he now heads, only two members have a worse labor record, and both are right-wing Republicans.

McCLELLAN's conservatism is not a sometime thing. Nor is it limited to his labor philosophy. This stern Baptist from the poorer section of

AL TOFFLER is a free-lance writer who has long specialized in the labor field.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arkansas mirrors typical Southern prejudices.

How deep they run is illustrated in an unusual incident that occurred last April 1. McClellan was just leaving a closed meeting of the Senate Judiciary Committee which processes ("kills" is a better word) civil-rights legislation. As he left the room, he stopped to chat with reporters. The result was an Associated Press story quoting him as having charged that Negro witnesses who had testified earlier in the year before a Judiciary subcommittee had perjured themselves.

To understand the startling nature of this charge, one must know that the typical Congressional hearing, unlike those staged by investigating committees, is a rather formal, cut-and-dried affair where witnesses are treated with polite respect. A charge of perjury against a witness in such a hearing is an extreme rarity.

The story provoked bitter comment among pro-civil-rights forces. One Senate staff man close to the situation called the charge "scandalous nonsense"; Roy Wilkins, leader of the NAACP, told a press conference that McClellan had been playing "dirty pool."

McClellan later clarified his remarks, saying the witnesses "may have committed perjury." But the damage had been done. As one influential Northern Senator puts it, it was simply a case of McClellan's emotions running away with him. Such cases, with McClellan, are exceedingly rare. His most marked characteristic is self-control.

THE incident itself is unimportant; nothing ever came of it except a few angry press releases. But it points up McClellan's strong feeling on the issue. Closely identified with the most right-wing of right-wing Dixiecrats — Thurmond, Eastland, Robertson and Harry Byrd—McClellan has been inveighing against civil rights for at least twenty years.

In 1937, while a member of the House of Representatives, McClellan took the floor to oppose an anti-lynching bill. He charged that its backers "desire to rebuke, embarrass and humiliate the Southland." He wound up with a Negro dialect joke and a Biblical quotation.

Last year, McClellan was one of a hundred states' rights Dixie Congressmen who signed the Southern "manifesto." He also introduced a bill which would have knocked out the "pre-emption" principle under which federal laws supersede state statutes.

During the last few years, since the famed Army-McCarthy hearings, McClellan has become the unofficial "investigations specialist" of

Drawing by Berger

Senator McClellan

the Southern contingent. He was picked to head a special probe of improper lobbying last year.

This investigation was triggered when Senator Francis Case (R.-S.D.) made a sensational speech charging that a lobbyist had attempted to bribe him. The bribe-giver was a representative of the powerful oil and natural-gas interests then backing a bill to exempt independent natural-gas producers from federal regulation.

A heated tussle began for chairmanship of the hand-picked eight-man committee. Senator Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.), an outspoken supporter of public power and a foe of the utility interests, was shouldered aside and McClellan emerged as chairman. The result, liberals charge, was a probe that whitewashed the oil and gas companies.

At the very time the special committee was getting under way, the Senate voted in favor of the lobby on the natural-gas bill. McClellan lined up with the majority. During the Dixon-Yates scandal in 1954, McClellan again voted for the utility interests.

Back home in Arkansas, McClellan has been tagged as a friend of the Arkansas Power and Light Company. During his last campaign, in which he defeated ex-Governor Sid McMath, A.P. & L. became a hot political issue. The company did McClellan little good by boosting its rates in the final days of the primary fight.

In his home state McClellan is opposed by organized labor, rural cooperatives and the Negro vote. His support comes from the business interests and the cotton planters of East Arkansas.

ONE REASON why McClellan gets elected regularly is his concentration on "pork-barrel" legislation. In his fifteen years in the Senate, he has helped pour over a half-billion dollars into Arkansas in the form of federal aid for flood control, water-resource projects, defense plants and military establishments.

Flood control, incidentally, is a major concern with him. Philosophically opposed to the extension of federal power and closely allied with the private utilities, McClellan nevertheless co-sponsored the Hells Canyon bill in 1956. As one Northwestern Senator explained, "In a straight power project he's for the power companies. But if you've got flood control or irrigation in the bill, as in the Hells Canyon bill, he'll vote for it."

McClellan came to the House during the depths of the Depression in 1935. At first he backed New Deal legislation. But his "liberalism" cooled rapidly. Since then, time and time again, he has joined his fellow Southern Democrats in voting with the Republicans. This was particularly marked during the Truman Administration, when McClellan was fiercely antagonistic to the President. Having helped swing the 1944 Democratic convention to Truman over Henry Wallace in the Vice-Presidential nomination, McClellan claimed that Truman quickly forgot the favor. In 1948, the Senator was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

close to Ben Laney, one of the organizers of the Dixiecrat revolt against Truman, and he refused to campaign for Harry even though he was running for re-election himself.

THAT THE Senator was awarded the much-coveted chairmanship of a committee investigating labor-management racketeering is traceable in large measure to the transgressions of Joseph R. McCarthy. As ranking Democrat on the Senate Government Operations Committee, McClellan at first worked closely and in apparent harmony with his Republican counterpart, the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

Before long, McCarthy was launched on his politically lucrative crusade against "Communists in government." Nobody seemed much concerned at the time with his harrying of witnesses, his abuse of individual rights, his fantastic allegations and frequent lack of proof.

But within the committee itself, tensions began to mount. McClellan, a member of the Senate's inner club, felt that McCarthy was doing violence to the traditions of the upper chamber by his one-man domination of the committee and his high-handed treatment of his colleagues.

In mid-1953, McClellan led two other Democrats off the Permanent Investigations subcommittee, which McCarthy headed, in protest against the handling of staff. Later, when the Democrats won control of Congress, McClellan himself became head of the subcommittee. Out of his handling of the famed Army-McCarthy hearings came a reputation for fair firmness with witnesses as well as opposition to McCarthyism. This reputation played a significant part in his selection to head the current probe.

Yet a few weeks ago, during a Senate ritual of praise for the man it had once formally censured, McClellan rose to say that though he and the Wisconsin Senator had sometimes disagreed on procedure, "it was never personal" and, indeed, that no one had been more effective than Joe McCarthy in "alerting the nation to the dangers of communism."

For McClellan, McCarthy's crimes were crimes aaginst the Senate, not crimes against democracy.

Today Senate liberals privately express their disappointment over the way in which McClellan is handling the widely publicized racket hearings. Senator Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.), long in favor of bringing fair play into Congressional hearing rooms, has called for "basic reforms in the procedures used by Senate investigating committees such as the McClellan committee." Morse charges that the kind of sensationalized hearings run by McClellan constitute, in effect, "trial by press" of the individuals hailed before the committee. He has urged the introduction of some of the guarantees that a witness would have in a courtroom.

Linked with this is a liberal criticism that McClellan's group is undermining the Bill of Rights by asking witnesses countless questions in the full knowledge that to answer would be to waive their privilege to the Fifth Amendment. This has led to revival of the familiar numbers game of the McCarthy era: "So-and-so took the Fifth Amendment X times today . . ."

THERE WERE times during the recent hearings when one or another member of the committee was guilty of inexcusable smearing of a witness' family. On one occasion, when a witness refused to identify his own brother-in-law, a committee member acidly commented that his actions cast an "unflattering light" on his sister. The sister, of course, had nothing to do with the hearing. It was an attempt to bait the witness to break silence. Had the witness reacted, as the McClellan committee well realized, he would have waived his legal right to invocation of the Fifth in the given line of questioning.

Confronted by this kind of criticism, Senator McClellan explodes: "The witness has a right to invoke it [the Fifth] and we have a right to expose him. As we ask him, we expose him to public opinion. There's no reason why we shouldn't. Who says we shouldn't? They're not on trial," he snorts, "we're seeking information."

Whether or not the witnesses are in effect on trial is the very point questioned by Senator Morse.

McClellan is convinced that it is "those who invoke it capriciously" who undermine the Fifth Amendment. When a witness refuses to answer, McClellan seems personally affronted. He points out that he is "offering an opportunity" for reply to nasty charges.

OF COURSE, frequently the charges emanate from the committee itself. Some Senators have noted that on a number of occasions McClellan has opened a hearing by telling in advance what the committee would prove. This, they say, is hardly evidence of judicial temperament.

In line with this, it has also been noted that the committee, especially at the beginning of its work, had an unpleasant affinity for lurid press releases, which emphasized the presence, as witnesses, of prostitutes, gamblers, etc. This, according to many critics, was an obvious play for press space.

These accusations have been sharpened recently by the acquittal in Oregon courtrooms of some of the witnesses charged with wrongdoing by the McClellan committee.

McClellan's attitude toward individual rights is further demonstrated by his concern over recent Supreme Court rulings. In a historic series of decisions this year, the Court did much to sweep away the vestiges of McCarthyism and to bolster the rights of the individual as against the state. McClellan, like other Congressional conservatives, is much wrought up over the rulings. He considers the judicial trend as one of the two top domestic issues facing the nation; the other, in his opinion, is inflation.

Another, somewhat different, criticism of McClellan's probe has come from organized labor and its friends on Capitol Hill. They have been pointedly asking when the committee will get around to investigating the management side of the labor-management twosome. But McClellan flares up at the suggestion of partiality. He says the criticism will be answered when the committee returns to Nathan Shefferman. "Nate"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is the man who runs a "labor consultant" outfit advising companies on how to bust union-organizing drives. He was involved in the Beck hearings.

Despite all these criticisms, however, it is unlikely that the Senate will ever get seriously disturbed about McClellan's methods. If his committee is sometimes needlessly rough on witnesses, McClellan is careful to be scrupulously fair in his treatment of his colleagues on the committee. Each is given ample time for questioning. Staff is made available on an equitable basis. These facts weigh heavily in McClellan's favor in any evaluation made by his colleagues.

As for the public, the fact remains that McClellan emerges as the most impressive member of his committee. When other members are leading the hearings astray by irrelevant questioning, when some reveal their shocking ignorance of labor-management relations, when they preen before the TV cameras, McClellan is sitting tight-lipped and silent, a dark figure of grim majesty.

When the hearings are over, it will be this, unquestionably, which will be remembered.

NOBODY READS ANY MORE . . *by David Cort*

THE PUBLISHERS' complaint, "Nobody reads," is not meant literally. It describes instead a generally recognized mood of non-excitement about the printed word, of diminished hope of reading anything unforgettable and of resignation to that minimum of reading which is essential just to "keep informed."

Most people "read" perhaps two newspapers a day; if they are commuters they certainly do. They glance at the current crisis headlines and skip down the story; they read all about several local human tragedies; they pick what they want out of the sports section or business section and may read all of a favorite column. Housewives get the primary news, incredibly condensed, on TV and radio all day; the husbands get a little at night. The later-evening interview programs also reflect the news world enough to give the listener the sense of being still in touch with world events.

Toward the end of the week, the family will look at *Life*, *Look*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Time* or *Newsweek*, to confirm the fact that they exist in the world of the moment. But all they have read that week will have disappeared from their minds two weeks later: they cannot even be sure whether that was the week the little boy fell down the well, or the week the doctor presented his $1,500 bill.

In the sense that Dickens' early serialization stories were the life of England and the continent, today: nothing.

The blame for the current impotence of the printed word is generally laid on the writer (all right, where's Dickens?) by such editors as those of *Life*, or on the reader (we give the people what they want). Oddly, these two answers by editors demolish one another.

Both answers are, in my opinion, wickedly wrong. Readers, and also writers, are above criticism; their qualities and interests are subject to examination but not to blame.

The thing that has been added, most outrageously in this country, is the corporate-publishing operation, whose crux is the editor or board of editors. If the passionate reader is dead in America, these are the people who have killed him. In their hands the printed word has slowly, imperceptibly, approached the state of being a lifeless, mechanical tool, instead of an unexpected window in a closed room.

It will be instructive to examine how the printed word was killed in American journalism. And this leads us to the "rules" of mass-magazine editing, given below in my own order—not that of a journalism school:

1. Fewer words in bigger type on a page, so that a *Life* or *Post* page looks more and more like a display advertisement, and says less and less.

2. The naive faith that a story is "heated up" by including in the first paragraph the latest possible "news," no matter how anti-climactic, irrelevant and unnewsworthy it is. The unimportance of news can be demonstrated by reading a ten-year-old *Life*, *Post* or *Reader's Digest*. The issue will be exactly as interesting, or uninteresting, as this week's; and reading it has the advantage of showing how silly editors were ten years ago.

3. Topicality, or the abuse of presold themes. In the May 25 *Saturday Evening Post* there were three separate wars with Bolshevik Russia: (1) H-bomb attack; (2) Russian capture of an American atomic submarine; (3) Russia's race to educate more scientists than we. There were also articles about a millionaire, a crook, a neurotic, a new governor and Groucho Marx. How safe can you play it?

4. Look as if you're saving America. The press has put us in just the right mood to fight Russia about fifty times. If the fifty-first time should turn out to be the all-out necessity, this propaganda may have stopped working. I accept the uses of propaganda; but this isn't well-planned propaganda. In fact, it was planned only to sell copies, not to save America. Who cares about saving America if he can scare it?

5. Everything in each magazine is written in the same style. This sounds impossible; it is certainly not easy; but the editors manage it.

6. The use of superlatives, as that the United States has the world's biggest steel production, Pakistan all the world's jute, the Dutch use the most fertilizer per acre, Indian pol-

DAVID CORT, former Time-Life *editor, is a frequent contributor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

iticians do the most talking, etc. All the foregoing can be checked, but that does not make them less deadening. This fashion must be laid to Time Inc. The laugh about superlatives is that everybody and everything is in some way most, least, best, worst, first and last. (I, too, have sinned in this department.)

7. The positive search for material that will not irritate Protestants, Catholics or Jews; men or women or children; whites, Negroes or mongoloids; elderly, middle-aged or young; any ethnic group; dogs, cats, parrakeets or goldfish; hunters or fishermen; farmers or trade unionists; etc., etc.—and the prompt abdication to any letter-writing group of complaining lunatics.

8. All material must seem to help, or at least not hinder, parents bringing up children. (But the other half of the magazines on the newsstands are aimed at debauching children. These are the ones the children buy.)

9. All public figures are nice people. The reader knows the world assays fairly high on sons of bitches, but evidently the percentage drops precipitately in the seats of the mighty.

10. The smell of public-relations work gradually fills the nose of the faithful reader. By what magic is Bernard Baruch at the right hand of God, Walter O'Malley a father of his people, Robert Moses the Ajax of the American way of life, Thomas Watson's whole family supermen, any president of General Motors a barefoot boy, Eisenhower a military genius (no point giving the title to Bradley, who deserves it), Thomas Edison the greatest American, Joe Consolidated the next greatest, and so on? Nobody really believes any of this rot, but nobody exactly disbelieves it either. Everybody slowly stops believing in anything.

11. Superficially exciting themes completely crowd out less dramatic statements of significant survival truths. A rare example of the latter was a small, unattractive picture story in *Life* around 1938, pointing out the weapons lessons of the Spanish War, viz. the victory of the big-gunned tank over the German little, fast tank. These lessons were a safe bet to dominate the upcoming war. But this sort of undramatic service is almost never given the reader. Insofar as it isn't, I suggest that the whole press is very largely a waste of woodpulp.

12. Each publication's insane pretense that it is the only one in existence. No hurrahs for stories in other publications are ever published, with the sole regular exception, so far as I remember, of Walter Winchell's column. (Naturally, reviews of books, plays, movies, etc. are quite another matter.) Credit to other publications for information, far less for ideas, is never given, except by the most intellectual magazines. This fashion, too, can be traced to Time Inc.

13. As a corollary or result of this, enthusiasm and wonder are taboo to the printed word. Anybody except a sportswriter is forbidden to let go. The general impression created by the word is that there is nothing and nobody worth believing in. The enthusiasms that are acceptable are for *South Pacific*, not *Carousel*, for Mary Martin's Peter Pan, not for Cyril Ritchard's Captain Hook. Such is not the sort of spiritual climate where anything very good gets done. The only honest voice possible is one of dissent. Perhaps that is why so much high-minded, if perhaps overgenerous, sympathy has gone to the American Communists who are believed, incorrectly, to have the talent of dissent.

14. Over-editing, on the frayed excuse, "Any piece of writing can be improved by editing." The writer's all too human personality can indeed be combed out of the words by editing; in this sense, the perfect piece would be a blank page. The editing is in the direction of broad and corny signals to the reader, and away from what the individual writer wanted to convey. In this very magazine a piece of mine which I called A Hole in Brooklyn was renamed O'Malley's Double Play. This was a relatively mild mutilation.*

15. The coterie of pet writers who monopolize any given magazine. Editors are averse to another magazine's pet, and completely cold to strange new voices.

16. An inane contempt and hostility by most editors toward most writers, except ex-fellow-editors. The writer is not a member of the editors' club; he is a sort of screwball. Thus, writers try to get into editing, and after some of that into public relations. A counter-movement is detectable, from editing and advertising into writing, but I have no faith in it.

17. The resultant level of American writing is such that large numbers of non-writers can meet it. The Gypsy Rose Lees and Diana Barrymores are entitled to their hearing. But the dull boys and girls who "learn" to write in schools, and the college instructors who are subsidized to earn their next promotion by writing articles, are largely dead weight. There is even a kind of "fine writing," for which Flaubert must take responsibility, that can be quite adequately taught to any fool. You just keep trying out different words in each spot. The ancient truth that good writing is only good thinking and good feeling is stone dead. The perennial crop of new writers who are too busy inventing their own techniques to go to school, are evidently drowned at birth now.

18. I would certainly include in this list the big publishers' failure to try to improve the independent writer's income tax position. A writer's one good year after ten years of famine, all equally hard work, will usually ruin him, because it will heighten both his creditors' and his own appetites. A writer has to remain outside the whole American system of time-credit on the security of corporate wages or property. If he is, after the inventor-discoverers, the most important person in the culture, he ought to be encouraged by the government to stay in business.

The reader suffers by the mutilation of the writer, just as the writer suffers by the gradual mutilation of the reader's mind. Enough has been given to show that both these processes have been going on in America, and both at the hands of the corporate editors.

*In fairness to Mr. Cort, the reader should know that in this instance the author's title has been retained, but three pages have been cut from his manuscript.—Ed.

Author's P.S.: See what I mean?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Unquiet Flows the Elbe

THE UNQUIET GERMANS. By Charles W. Thayer. Harper and Brothers. 275 pp. $4.

THE AUSTRIAN ODYSSEY. By Gordon Shepherd. St. Martin's Press. 302 pp. $6.50.

Frederick L. Schuman

THE mid-September drama of the West German elections is less disturbing to those with long memories than the mid-August spectacle of General Maxwell D. Taylor "inspecting" at Niederlahnstein the new Fifth Panzer Division in the presence of Nazi Generals Smilo von Luettwitz and Heinrich von Behr. Last April, Nazi General Hans Speidel became, via formal appointment by General Lauris Norstad, commander of all NATO land forces in Central Europe.

The new *Wehrmacht* or *Bundesheer*, albeit still a thing of shreds and patches, continues to be regarded by the Pentagon as the very core of the "defense" of Western Europe against the Red menace. And in Moscow it is deemed a mortal threat of future "imperialist aggression" against Marxland. Both the hope and the fear have long seemed to me senseless. The reborn German Army can defend nothing and attack nobody, for the role of Germany as a "Great Power," whether united or divided, prosperous or poor, has been forever ended by the industrialization of Russia and by the obvious fact that in a nuclear war (which is the only kind of war to which NATO is committed) less than a dozen H-bombs could wipe out the entire German population. Yet a rearmed Reich, with Russian acquiescence, is still capable of dominating Western Europe.

This prospect, at once grim and grotesque, makes it all the more urgent that others should watch carefully what the Germans are up to and try to calculate the probable shape of the German future. *The Unquiet Germans* is a welcome and valuable contribution to the quest. West Pointer Charles W. Thayer left the army in 1933 for Germany, where he spent ten years in all, plus seven in Russia, in the U.S. Foreign Service. He now lives in retirement as a writer in Bavaria. His latest book is a breezy but perceptive commentary, embellished with gossip, anecdotes and vignettes, on German character and on politics and economics in the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland.*

MANY Germans, asserts Thayer, hated Hitler (which I doubt), but had no "guts" to rebel. His chapter on "What Ailed Germany?" is inconclusive. Today's Germans have repressed the past. But they are "still groping unsteadily for some form in which to fulfill themselves as a nation." Thayer illuminates what has changed and what remains the same with sketches of the Krupps and other industrialists, Adenauer and Schumacher, other politicians and parties and a sampling of ordinary citizens. Denazification, decartelization and democratization all failed. As for the fourth "D," Germans are fond of the story of the two Americans who met at Idlewild some years back on their way to assignments with the High Commission in Frankfurt. "What's your job?" one asked. "Demilitarization," replied the other. "That's odd," the first exclaimed. "Mine's remilitarization." The paradox is epitomized in Thayer's tale of Eisenhower, then NATO commander, meeting Generals Speidel and Heusinger in McCloy's HQ (Ike had treated both discourteously in 1945 as members of "a completely evil conspiracy") and charming them into consenting to serve in the new army.

The Unquiet Germans is light journalism, not deep analysis. But it is an expression of anxiety, and this is rare enough to deserve attention. Nazism as such is dead, but authoritarianism is not. The irreconcilable irredentists are endlessly planning and plotting the recovery of "lost provinces," including Sudetenland and Austria. Continued partition is a potential source of future explosions which might, Thayer, believes, precipitate World War III.

It is self-evident, though this is no part of Thayer's argument, that partition can be ended only through some formula for the "neutralization" of a united Reich, as proposed by Moscow and rejected by Bonn and Washington. Here the example for the Germans of the South, the Austrians, is worthy of close attention, for Austria, by the treaty of May 15, 1955, attained full unity, independence and the withdrawal of all occupation forces by pledging itself to a neutral role. Gordon Shepherd, British soldier, historian and journalist with long experience in Vienna, offers us in *The Austrian Odyssey* a lively account, with interesting photographs, of Austria's history, emphasizing the past two decades. I know of no better brief treatment of the contemporary problems of the *Ostmark*. But Shepherd sees in Austrian neutrality not an opportunity but a danger. The Viennese mission, in his view, is somehow to help "remove the Russians from the Vistula and the Danube" and "loosen the Communist grip on Central Europe." He doubts whether Austrian *Gemütlichkeit* and *Schlamperei* are adequate to the task. In this he is quite right.

Austria's role, I believe, is of a wholly different order. If Austrian neutrality is a "success," as clearly it is, along with the neutrality of Switzerland, Sweden and Yugoslavia and the quasi-neutrality of Finland, then this status can become the model for all of Central and much

---

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College. His earlier books include* The Nazi Dictatorship *and* Germany Since 1918. *His most recent book,* Russia Since 1917, *will soon be reviewed in* The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Eastern Europe, if only East and West will perceive the advantages of such a settlement through disengagement. Germany's Social Democrats here see hope, while Germany's Christian Democrats see none. Realization of the hope would dispose of many of Thayer's doubts and fears. Non-realization means continued friction and danger along the Elbe, not only for Germans but for all mankind. All policy-makers seriously concerned with coexistence rather than coannihilation must strive to project Austria's status of unity via neutrality into a pattern of German unity via neutrality, susceptible of extension to the Vistula and the Danube. Such a course, if negotiated, offers promise of peace to all Germans, to all Europeans and to all the world.

The Wayward Teamsters

THE TEAMSTERS UNION. A Study of Its Economic Impact. By Robert D. Leiter. Bookman Associates. 304 pp. $5.

Paul Breslow

THE truck driver has been a romantic figure in American mythology; his virile camaraderie and amiable concupiscence have been celebrated by John Steinbeck and Nelson Algren. The truck driver's union, on the other hand, has been symbolized recently by a pear-shaped millionaire enduring the censure of a moralizing Southern Senator, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the official labor movement, the American press and public at large.

We are, as Harold Laski put it, "a public always more anxious to move on to the next interesting theme than ready to stay for an answer to all seminal questions." It is therefore unlikely that the present disgrace of Dave Beck will lead to thoughts much more serious than those already expressed by Senator McClellan. Yet it is by just such dramatics that the stereotypes which direct public opinion and make possible significant changes in public policy are formed. No matter how dubious its authority or simplistic its logic, the current Senate investigation of labor unions may lead to basic legislative changes which inhibit these organizations. Perhaps more important, labor may lose prestige and respect which it will be exceedingly difficult to recapture.

Such changes do seem to be taking place. Newspapers whose previous concern with the trucking industry and truck drivers has been limited to securing the cheapest possible circulation of their product have become solicitous about the lack of democracy in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Many liberals have found a new opportunity for contemplating their own guilt in the enormous power of the illiberal IBT. The notion of a struggle among "veto groups," which David Riesman sees as the dominant fact of the new American political system, has been made plausible to many who have embraced this view in order to free themselves from any sense of personal responsibility and yet to remain assured that things are not so bad and that countervailing-moderate-prosperous democracy works after all. If the economy is really run like a huge, dishonest ball game, the whole thing may be amusing, even if irrational, and the smart thing to do it to establish a few rules to keep the boys from hurting themselves and then to withdraw from participation in order to concentrate upon more important matters.

THUS, THE most disturbing aspect of the stereotypic thinking which Beck, Hoffa and associates have helped to bring about is not that a resurgence of middle class morality will turn the respectable people against trade unionism, but that the somewhat more perceptive and potentially influential will retreat further into their shell of "realism" and disaffiliate from the serious concerns of social policy.

Robert Leiter's *The Teamsters Union* may help to stay this retreat by providing a sensible perspective for considering the problems raised by the Senate disclosures.

As Leiter puts it, "Much of the philosophy of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and its leading officials is in the spirit and tradition of Samuel Gompers and the founders of the American Federation of Labor. . . . Business unionism—improvement of wages, hours and working conditions—rather than political reorganization or modification in the structure of society is the goal towards which this union has directed its efforts." He is not shocked by reports of violence in the rugged trucking industry, thinks that the IBT has "largely used methods and tactics approved by most of the labor movement, but its notoriety and successes have been due to the greater vigor which it has applied in pressing its campaigns, the strategic position which its members occupy in the economy of the United States and the huge size of its membership."

Leiter is, of course, disturbed by the official dishonesty recently disclosed in the union, but feels that it may be combatted through such measures as the strengthening of the section of the Taft-Hartley Act requiring full disclosure of union finances and closer control of pension and welfare funds. Part of the difficulty stems from the sprawling nature of the IBT organization, which makes unified control complicated and laborious. Indeed, Dave Beck appears to have tried to control local corruption in some areas but to have been blocked by other elements within the union.

In one sense, Beck's disgrace has come about because of his considerable success in increasing the financial resources of his union; the very inclination toward business manipulation which enabled him to build the IBT treasury must have made its plunder attractive. That, with its many implications, is the whole point. In conflict with the ideal notions of union democracy and ethics, Beck is a business manipulator. So also, in a more colorful and less social way, is his rival James Hoffa—and so probably is the great majority of the lower-level leaders of the Teamsters. It appears from Leiter's book that what makes the adoption or perversion of business morality more reprehensible in the Teamsters than in our other business unions arises from the special circumstances of the trucking industry and other fields wherein the IBT has staked a claim.

TRUCKING IS A large and disorganized industry. There were 5,860,000 people working for trucking companies or as truck drivers for other firms in 1955. Leiter states that "while less than one per cent of all truck owners had more than a sixth of the trucks, more than 83 per cent owned fewer than 54 per cent of the trucks." In 1952 some four and a half million persons each owned one truck, 44,000 each owned at least ten. Many other industries organized by the Teamsters show a comparable pattern of numerous, relatively small organizations. This has given the Teamsters a

PAUL BRESLOW, who studied political science at the University of Chicago, has contributed several articles to The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

special interest in the peculiar techniques of organization which have become notorious. In order to have a more manageable entity with which to deal, the IBT has encouraged employer organization and steadily extended the area over which bargaining takes place. Through regional and local units, the union is able to deal with many employers and impose or encourage uniformity of practice. Since it is difficult to recruit directly widely scattered and divided employees, the union prefers to coerce employers into granting bargaining rights through such means as picketing or threatened picketing. Because of their strategic position, the truckers may gain control of a situation by threatening not to respect the picket lines of other unions. Sometimes, more bizarre techniques have been adopted. To secure recognition from Montgomery Ward, Teamster officials invested heavily from union funds in stock of the corporation, just at the time when a bitter proxy fight for control of the firm was in progress. On occasion Teamster officials have established personal businesses in fields connected with their union activities and have driven competitors out of business or seriously damaged them; one Teamster official gained control of a film delivery company, others became powerful in produce markets and in the juke box business.

LEITER provides a great amount of information on the operation of the IBT, its jurisdictional and organizational disputes. The union is generally unwilling to recognize the legitimacy of any rival jurisdictional claim unless it is immediately expedient to do so. Although he neglects some of the numerous complaints made against the IBT by other unions, Leiter does describe the appalling use of union locals by racketeers. In this type of operation a manipulator uses a local for the purpose of monopolizing a particular business. Under the guise of a labor grievance, competitors are blocked from certain markets or businesses forced to enter into "collective bargaining" agreements which are actually a form of extortion. None of this has anything to do with the legitimate interests of the workers, who may not even be consulted.

The Teamsters Union is not, however, merely a racket. Leiter demonstrates the great improvement in wages, hours and welfare benefits which have been granted truck drivers—he notes the union's claim that under Beck the Teamsters did better in average hourly wage increases than other workers—and their union's persisting efforts to further truck transportation in general as against railroad shipping. All of this material is impressive, although it has not been demonstrated that the IBT's methods are more effective than those of other unions. Accepting Leiter's optimistic conclusions about the strictly economic gains of the union, other implications of his study are still disturbing.

THE SIZE of the industry and its condition necessitates multi-employer bargaining on an ever-increasing scale, if there is to be a reasonable equality in working conditions. There remains a great deal of local autonomy to the union's constituent parts, at least on paper, but there does not seem to be very much control by the ordinary members. Bargaining is generally carried on by business agents or committees of officials. Leiter does not concern himself with the degree of democracy actually operative in the IBT. He may be right that the IBT is no worse than most unions in this respect, but it is hardly coming to grips with the present state of things to assume that the problem is not meaningful and important. As privately administered prices become the pattern in large segments of the economy, somewhere along the line somebody must face the fact that a privately administered choice of values and demands in the unions leaves the individual worker with no place to turn—except to his television set.

The IBT leadership seems so alien to what we are accustomed to accepting as legitimate trade unionism because it almost completely lacks a social ethic. And this same lack is what makes it so closely resemble a business engaged in the sale of labor. It is not only that the union desires money (which is a proper function of any good trade union), but that it gives no sign of understanding anything else, unless it be that it is nice to be well-liked as well as rich. Here it resembles the many other private governments of corporations, union and professional associations, although it has not yet learned the value of symbolic idealism, as a corporation understands that its interests are well-served through paying lip-service to the ethic of small-scale free enterprise. Dave Beck is a Republican without any sound reason for expecting from the party anything more lasting in value to his organization than an invitation to a White House stag dinner. James Hoffa is a Democrat for similar reasons. The outstanding exception in the Teamsters' national leadership is Harold Gibbons, whose St. Louis local has taken important measures in welfare and security programs and in community participation. But can liberalism remain alive in a climate of labor salesmanship? Gibbons is reported to have attached himself to Hoffa.

In short, although the Teamsters Union is not likely to cause any great damage to the national economy—it may, in fact, be reviewed as a stabilizing force in an anarchical field—it is nevertheless a demoralizing influence. It is such because it has blurred the distinction between competing values and ways of life and, rather than providing leadership for its million and a quarter members, has given them a reflection of what is commonplace and dreary in their lives. The Teamsters Union has viewed other unions as business competitors, government as a nuisance and the consuming public as a nullity. It should be remembered that others beside the IBT behave in this fashion.

Homecoming

Now when I came, still anxious for my kin,
I did not walk an easy way that night.
All the dry leaves which filled the air
Tumbled to my astonishment.

Smoke I remembered, and grass deepening
The slant ground; but where I turned, as far
As sight, the flash of ordinary things
Was all at odds that once was sure.

Silence, and no-one. I stepped before that door.
Only my shadow swung upon the sill;
How might I face them, those loves spent foolishly,
Each privilege loosened like a girl?

Half to myself I knocked, half to myself,
And every wrong rose echoing through the room;
No-one called; a dog that listened barked
From the emptiness as from a dream.

ROBERT KRIEGER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not For Adventure's Sake

BUCKSKIN AND BLANKET DAYS. By Thomas Henry Tibbles. Doubleday and Co. 336 pp. $4.50.

Robert Hatch

THIS volume of memoirs was written in 1905 by a man who lived until 1928. The author published several other books, and he made a living off and on all his life as a newspaperman. Why this book has remained so long unpublished, or how it was preserved for more than fifty years in manuscript, the present publishers do not say. They do not say either that it is a work of great vigor set down in words of simplest eloquence, but that is what it is.

Thomas Henry Tibbles was eighty-eight when he died. That is not an extraordinarily long life, but he lived it on the frontier and his span stretches back like a fabulous bridge into history. This man who died the year before the Wall Street crash, fought with John Brown in Bloody Kansas. By the time he was seventeen he had been a soldier, a buffalo hunter, an Indian brave. He lived for more than a year with the Indians, sharing their famines and fat kills, riding in a war party against the feared and hated Sioux. Tibbles was one of the few white men whom the Indians really called brother. They made him a member of the Soldier Lodge, a free-masonry to which only the most intrepid and responsible tribesmen belonged, and in the terrible years that fell upon them after the Civil War, he was the Indians' tireless and effective friend.

No one has written better about the Indians. Tibbles had no reason himself to feel guilty about them; therefore he had no reason either to despise or to ennoble them. He respected the tribal way of life, for a time he hugely enjoyed it; but he had no illusion that it was superior to the life of white civilization. He saw perfectly clearly that the Indian nations, trapped in a rigid code of primitive socialism, could not survive; but he gave a large part of his active life to slowing the process of destruction and winning for the Indians the small mercy of a dignified conclusion to their history.

Tibbles was a great one for turning his hand to the job that needed doing. After his season with the Indians, he returned to civilization at the town of Winterset in Iowa, where he intended to read for the law. He discovered, however, that the area was overrun by horse thieves and joined a band of them with the idea of bringing them to justice. This adventure earned him a dose of strychnine which almost ended his life at eighteen, and from which he never fully recovered. He profited from his ill health to learn some practical medicine and from then on he was a good doctor by frontier standards.

In 1871 he learned that no Methodist Episcopal preacher dared operate in the Missouri counties of Platte or Clay—the James brothers were in charge there and they disliked the sect. Tibbles and his wife (he had married a Pennsylvania girl in 1861) promptly bought a tent and set off as missionaries to Southern Missouri. She played the melodeon and he preached with a revolver plainly strapped around his waist. The Younger brothers and Jesse James were in one congregation; James liked the singing and contributed a silver dollar "to support the gospel."

When the grasshoppers descended on Nebraska, Tibbles fought the land speculators and the Omaha newspapers to get word of the famine back to the East. When the Department of the Interior began to hound the Indians into the grassless reservations, Tibbles dropped his journalism once more and went barnstorming across the country. He was present at the Battle of Wounded Knee and, though he held no official position, was largely responsible for preventing that flare-up from turning into another ghastly frontier war. That, in fact, sums up Tibbles—he never held a public office, but he devoted most of his life to public service. And, even more than their astonishing reach into the past, that is what makes his memoirs so haunting today. Tibbles was obviously an outstanding citizen even in those days. But he did not look on his career as being extraordinary in that respect, and he met many men and women who shared his understanding of citizenship. He was an American, he assumed that he was responsible for what was done in his name, and he assumed as readily that what he had to say would be heard and heeded. This attitude of private responsibility for public events is almost completely lacking today and explains why we talk of rootlessness, insecurity, mass culture and the irresponsibility of our elected officers. It is why we read the quite matter-of-fact chronicle of this alert, energetic but unpretentious man as though it were the fabled account of a golden past.

Break-Up of a Caste Culture

THE USES OF LITERACY. By Richard Hoggart. Essential Books. 319 pp. $5.

William Bittner

SOME time ago V. S. Pritchett wrote an article on young English writers for the *New York Times* book section entitled "They Couldn't Care Less." Mr. Pritchett clearly indicated that his disapproval was aimed at Kingsley Amis, John Wain, John Braine and other writers of the "spiv revolution." The first stir made in this country by these writers was last year when Amis' *Lucky Jim,* which had attracted little attention in its American edition of 1954, came so heavily into demand that booksellers imported quantities of the English edition. In England the novel had already gone through seventeen printings.

Jim Dixon, of *Lucky Jim,* has become a symbol for the new man of Britain. Although of working-class background he (we presume because of benefits from his military service) has taken a university degree and is serving as junior instructor in a provincial university. The pretensions of the middle class staff repel him, and he takes every opportunity to deflate them, usually with the moral support of a few pints from the local.

Although neither *Lucky Jim* nor his second novel, *That Uncertain Feeling,* is autobiographical, Mr. Amis has obviously used his own experience and observation in designing the outrageous incidents in them. He is a lecturer at the University College in Swansea, and I am sure someone must have suggested that although he may not act as his characters do, he might want to.

Although these books are delightfully funny, the social situation they treat is serious. In World War II, England found for the first time that it could not afford to operate its armed services on a class basis. Men rose from the ranks and were sent to the universities for training; after the war they went back for more study. Since the war, educational opportunity, al-

WILLIAM BITTNER is lecturer on literature at the New School for Social Research.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ways available for a few from the working classes in England, has been expanded tremendously. But the main influence, I believe, is that the class system is becoming very fluid; young people who would in former times have been content to live the closed circle of Noel Coward's *This Happy Breed* now want to gain the education that will enable them to tackle the middle class on its own ground.

Drew Middleton's recent *These Are the British* abounds with nostalgic sighs over the economic ordeal that Britain, and especially the British middle-class, seem to be undergoing now. It is like looking at a sample through the low-power objective of a microscope, or seems so when we swing the high-power into place with Richard Hoggart's discerning study of the changes that have come about in the English working classes in *The Use of Literacy*. Less than half of one of Middleton's chapters is devoted to the changes in working-class life about which Hoggart has written. Hoggart's book is not only more intensive; it is written with an intimate, intuitive perception utterly lacking in the American.

The Uses of Literacy is not the first study of the changes that have come about in Britain since the war. In *Time and Place,* George Scott describes his experiences as a man whose father was a door-to-door insurance salesman in a depressed region of the northeast of England, but who is himself editor of an intellectual journal. Richard Hoggart too rose from a working-class family in Leeds to become staff-tutor at the University of Hull. The Hoggarts, Scotts, Amises and the rest are exceptions. The working-class of England is still not a pack of highbrows like the poet-farmers of Iceland. But the leaders who rose from that class have not rejected its standards and become middle class. That is the point of *Lucky Jim*. They know they cannot "pass" and they do not want to. As George Scott says, ironically:

> Somehow, somewhere, the hob-nailed boots must show. It might be by using an ash-tray to stub out our fag-ends; by standing up to give a lady a seat; by allowing an acquaintance or even a friend to speak without interruption and to listen to what he has to say; or merely by saying "thank you" to a waiter.

Mr. Hoggart therefore has chosen to survey British popular culture, describing first the elements which have persisted from the past, then the areas in which change has come about. His is not a dry-as-dust compilation of statistics, trends and averages, but an interestingly organized collection of personal observations, backed up by scholarly method. Its comprehensiveness is for that reason all the more remarkable. He has avoided the romanticism of those who imagine they see a "folk" in a modern, industrial society as much as he has avoided the snobbery of those who consider all popular taste as debased. Hoggart feels, however, that although the erosion of class differences in Britain is an encouraging thing, "the old forms of class culture are in danger of being replaced by a poorer kind of classless, or by what I was led earlier to describe as a 'faceless' culture, and this is to be regretted."

AT FIRST glance, one tends to think that the British have simply become more like the Americans, but a similar examination of popular culture in this country would probably suggest that so have the Americans. The popular songs, motion pictures and a good bit of the television of both countries are the same or similar. It is without question true also that a similar breakdown and a similar resistance to breakdown by honest-minded young people have come about in other classes in England. Two reverse-*Lucky Jim* novels have appeared there, Roger Longrigg's *A High-Pitched Buzz* and John Braine's *Room at the Top* (the latter will be published by Houghton Mifflin in October). These trace the antics of upper-middle class young men who, like Jim Dixon, resist the blandishments of the pretentious and return to the old virtues. Theirs are the virtues of the aristocracy, but the motivation is the same. In all the novels the heroes oppose the tendencies to make them "faceless" wearers of uniforms. Their problem is, as Richard Hoggart says, "acute and pressing—how . . . freedom may be kept as in any sense a meaningful thing whilst the processes of centralization and technological developments continue. This is a particularly intricate challenge because, even if substantial inner freedom were lost, the great new classless class would be unlikely to know it: its members would still regard themselves as free and be told that they were free."

AUTHORS WANTED BY N. Y. PUBLISHER

New York, N. Y.—One of the nation's largest book publishers is seeking manuscripts of all types—fiction, non-fiction, poetry. Special attention to new writers. If your work is ready for publication, send for booklet No. 103—It's free. Vantage Press, Inc., 120 West 31st Street, New York 1, New York.

$1600 CASH Awards plus 40% royalty. All types of manuscripts invited. **Best Book Contest for 1957**

For Contest rules and details of famous publishing plan, write for Brochure N. Pageant Press, 101 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 3

RETIRE IN MEXICO ON $150 A MONTH

or less in a resort area, 365 days of sun a year, dry temp. 65-80°. Or maintain lux. villa, servants, ALL expenses $200-250 a mon. Am.-Eng. colony on Lake Chapala. 30 min. to city of ½ million, medical center. Schools, arts, sports. Few hours by Air. Train, bus, paved roads all the way. Full-time servants, maids, cooks, $7 to $15 a mo., filet mignon 50c lb., coffee 45c, gas 17c gal. Houses $10 mo. up. No fog, smog, confusion, jitters. Just serene living among considerate people. For EXACTLY how Americans are living in the world's most perfect climate on $50-$150-$250 a mo., mail $2.00 for complete current information, photos, prices, roads, hotels, hunting, fishing, vacationing and retirement conditions from Am. viewpoint. (Pers. Chk. OK) to Bob Thayer, File 55D, Ajijic, Jal., Mexico. (Allow 2 weeks for delivery. Money Back Guarantee.)

Democracy in a Planned Society

THE NEW SOCIETY. By E. H. Carr. St. Martin's Press. 119 pp. $2.

THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM. By C.A.R. Crosland. The Macmillan Co. 540 pp. $7.

H. H. Wilson

ONE MEASURE of a book's significance is its capacity to spin the intellectual wheels of the reader. Judged by this measure, these two books are important; they illustrate the kinds of issues that hold the attention of Britishers concerned with the future of democracy in a world increasingly collectivized by the imperatives of technology. E. H. Carr's essay is an example of learning and profound scholarship at its best. Originally delivered as six lectures on the BBC Third Program in 1951, it is a lucid, concise survey of the developments over the past 150 years which have led to the welfare state and changed individualistic liberal democracy into modern mass democracy.

The Labor Government so effectively implemented its program between 1945-51 that it ran out of steam. Since the

H. H. WILSON is professor of political science at Princeton University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

defeat in 1951 by a Conservative Party which appropriated most of Labor's program, there has been an intensive effort by all components of the Party to restate Labor's aim and formulate the lessons to be drawn from the experience in office. Anthony Crosland's book is the first detailed account of right-wing Labor Party re-thinking. Crosland, university economist and Labor M.P. from 1950 to 1955, is an important spokesman for a large segment of the party.

Perhaps because it is one side of a continuing debate, Crosland's book seems to overstate the actual accomplishments of the Labor Government—great as they undoubtedly were—and to underestimate the obstacles confronting Britain in the future. One hopes he is correct in predicting that British living standards will double in twenty-five years and that a major economic depression is impossible. He concedes that for the next ten years Great Britain will face the problem of scarce resources because of increased consumption, armaments, capital investment and the social services, but after this period he is certain that there will be surplus resources to aid underdeveloped countries.

Most of the argument about Crosland's case for the welfare state will center on his thesis that "the ownership of the means of production has ceased to be the key factor which imparts to a society its essential character." Though he favors the re-nationalization of steel and the nationalization of the insurance industry, he insists that ownership is no longer a significant factor in deciding control.

To some degree insistence that ownership doesn't matter is a healthy corrective to an over-simple belief that mere change in the form of ownership automatically solves problems. But there is a difference between noting, what is probably the case, that there is no popular demand for further nationalization, no comprehension of the power issues involved, and presenting as economic and sociological analysis the theory that ownership is irrelevant. As Carr comments, it is too soon to argue that nationalization does not change attitudes, for "the workers know quite well that the national economy, so far as major decisions of policy go, is a single entity; and in Great Britain it is not yet the nationalized sector which dominates industrial policy."

The element of truth in Crosland's case may well be that nationalization provides no more than an opportunity to influence dominant values and motives in society, which by and large the Labor ministers did not seize in the 1945-51 period. Professor Arnold Rogow (*The Labor Government and British Industry: 1945-51*) has documented the reluctance of Labor ministers to enforce a policy on either public or private enterprise. Crosland concedes the fact, but does not examine the reasons. One may continue to doubt that ownership and private control have become irrelevant. On the contrary, nationalization or an equivalent form of social ownership must be recognized as essential to break the pervasive power—political, social, ideological—of those who control major corporations. For they markedly influence the definition of goals, the posing of alternatives, the determination of what is possible, the whole tone of the society.

TAKING as his motto Tocqueville's assertion that "a new science of politics is indispensable to a new world," Professor Carr insists that we have reached a point in history where there is "no alternative, short of annihilation in war, to a social and economic order which we can call the 'welfare state,' 'the social service state,' or simply 'socialism'." Carr's view of socialism resembles Crosland's in that it combines planning with democratic principles and the welfare state, but Carr is more insistent that "the essence of socialism resides in the manner in which production is organized, in the purposes which inspire the public control and planning of the economy." He is fully aware of the difficulties of trying to combine democracy with planning, conceding that it "may have been undertaken too late. But it is the only course which may yet, if war can be avoided, enable democracy to survive."

Carr makes a vital contribution when he discusses the change from individualism to mass democracy. Traditional propositions of democracy—that individual conscience decides right and wrong and that rational discussion is the best way to reach decisions—have been challenged or controverted. The result is that "to speak today of the defense of democracy as if we were defending something which we knew and had possessed for many decades or many centuries is self-deception and sham." Of primary significance is the changed attitude toward reason which first took the form, not of denigrating reason, but merely of asking the citizen to surrender his right of decision to the superior wisdom of the expert. Then the social psychologists discovered that men may be most effectively moved by non-rational emotions. The result is that "appeal is no longer to the reason of the citizen, but to his gullibility." Manipulative politics become characteristic of mass democracy as the leaders become primarily concerned with moulding and manipulating opinion, not in reflecting it. The wide separation between leaders and the rank-and-file fosters élites, and large-scale political organizations begin to display many of the characteristics of large-scale economic organizations. As Carr states: "The spectacle of an efficient élite maintaining its authority and asserting its will over the mass by the rationally calculated use of irrational methods of persuasion is the most disturbing nightmare of mass democracy."

Nevertheless, Carr holds to what might be termed a rational pessimism, rejecting fatalistic defeatism and insisting that though "the human being is indissolubly bound, in both his actions and his judgments, by a chain of causation reaching far back into the past; yet he has a qualified power to break the chain at a given point—the present—and so alter the future."

On Beauty

The crying I used to hear
Came from dying men
Who missed beauty and sickened
For what they never knew
Yet thought they could come to
Easily as birds to branches of a tree.

Now they cry who are young
And one hears amazed
Their incredible learning
Of fears and distrust
With heart that would not
Hold a rabbit's ears up.
Their idea of beauty
Being a French disease
That stops at adulthood
Except for vacations.

Old men who are happy
Should sing more songs
Instead of being so wise.
They should sing songs
Of lovers who could rest
Like shade among the grass and trees
And be as familiar with the country
As winding, underbrush roads,
And when they kissed
It was not for survival
But for intimacy alone.

Old men should sing these songs
Of days when sleep made men clean
And tell stories of how beauty
Whenever it was sighted
Had no more age than falling rain.

MORRIS RENEK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER from MUNICH

William Weaver

ELECTIONS are only a few weeks off. The stern, solid face of Adenauer stares at you from every hoarding: his supporters have the habit of lining up half-a-dozen prints of the same poster, so the effect is that of a trick with mirrors. Under the set chin are the words, *Kein Experiment.* They seem more an *order* to vote for him than a request. And Adenauer appears fairly sure that the majority of voters will do as they are told. Though the candidates make speeches and the picture magazines show the rivals with their respective grandchildren, there seems to be little popular discussion of the election, and everybody predicts that Adenauer's party will carry the day.

Here the air of prosperity is so blatant that one could see why the idea of No Experimenting might appeal to the solid citizen as he heads for the ballot box. Glassy, gleaming new buildings—not all of them architectural gems—are going up everywhere, and some of the old buildings are slowly, patiently, being restored. At Karlsplatz I saw some men taking soundings as if they were prospecting for oil; inquiring, I discovered they were testing for the projected subway. By next year Munich plans to welcome its one-millionth inhabitant; already the traffic problem is becoming serious, as shiny Mercedes' and beetle-like Volkswagens whizz along the broad streets (most of them with local license-plates). In fact, people talk about the traffic more than about politics, and special joking couplets about the problem have been inserted in the text of Suppé's operetta *Boccaccio* at the Gärtnerplatz Theatre; the joke wins laughter and rocking applause.

THE operetta audience is strictly local, and the theatre is sold out every night. At the Prinzregenten Theatre, on the other hand, the capacity audience of the annual *Festspiele* is thoroughly international. Here, too, the No Experiment policy pays off; year in, year out, the Festival performs its splendid stock in trade: Wagner, Verdi, Handel and, above all, Richard Strauss. In only one or two other cities can one see Strauss's great *Frau ohne Schatten,* and perhaps nowhere is it done with more fervor than here, where Leonie Rysanek for the past several seasons has sung the role of the Kaiserin with splendid authority and a tenderness few other living singers can summon.

The closest thing to an experiment in this year's Festival was the world premiere of the new Hindemith opera: *Die Harmonie der Welt;* but it is not exactly daring to produce a new work by a composer who, in his sixties, is considered one of the best alive. The production was simply first-rate, obviously the result of long, careful planning and an exorbitant number of rehearsals (which make the work impracticable in most theatres and surely impossible in America). The public greeted the new opera with respect rather than enthusiasm and with demonstrations of genuine affection for the composer, who conducted. The critics were respectful, too, but even more reserved. Certainly *Die Harmonie der Welt* is not a work that wins the heart immediately, but—like *Mathis der Maler,* Hindemith's preceding opera, completed in 1935—its sheer massiveness of conception commands attention; and if the listener is receptive, he can find scenes in the new work filled with overwhelming power, alternating with other scenes of a tenderness not usually associated with Hindemith. The Libretto (written by the composer) is far from dramatic; it tells, in a series of brief scenes, the life story of the seventeenth-century astronomer and mystic, Johannes Kepler. At first, these scenes seem sketchy, inconclusive; but as the opera progresses, it takes on a kind of tapestry quality, and at the end, in a magniloquent apotheosis scene, the characters of the story are transformed into planets, expressing the astronomer's (and the composer's) concept of the world's great harmony.

Joseph Metternich was an effective, humane Kepler, despite a certain tiredness in his voice (understandable in view of the amount he sings; in a week I heard him sing three huge, taxing roles). The twenty-nine-year-old American basso, Keith Engen, sang the part of the Emperor, in one of the opera's most moving and exciting scenes. A few days later I heard Engen as the Doctor in a magnificent edition of *Wozzeck;* he is unquestionably a singing actor of considerable promise.

The Festival spirit is not limited to the Opera House. The art cinemas have organized a month-long Film Festival, where enthusiasts can see *Rashomon* and *The Bicycle Thief,* and even such un-arty films as *Daddy Langbein* with Leslie Caron and Fred Astaire. As far as new West German film production goes, the quality of the product seems to be as bad as everywhere else, except that many of the new films—judging by the few I saw, plus generous Coming Attractions—have a dated, pre-war quality, as if they had been written for Ruby Keeler or George Brent or Guy Kibbee. There seems to be any number of folksy musical films set in charming rural landscapes; I saw something called *Kleines Zelt, Grosse Liebe* in which a kind of *It Happened One Night* story unfolded before a background of canoeing and camping, Europe's big vacation fad these days. The most recent attempt at a serious film is a version of Thomas Mann's *Felix Krull* (script signed also by Mann's daughter, Erika), overlong, clumsy and generally badly-made, starring Germany's pin-up boy Horst Bucholz.

September 14, 1957

MEETINGS

The Detroit Labor Forum

presents

I. F. Stone

"WILL MANKIND DESTROY ITSELF?"

Behind the Scenes on Disarmament and the Fall-Out Peril!

Saturday, September 21, 8 P.M.
Admission 90c Students 50c

PETE SEEGER CONCERT

Saturday, September 28, 8 P.M.
Admission $1.50 (Tax Included)

Both the Stone meeting and the Seeger Concert will be held at: Auditorium

Central YWCA, 2230 Witherell
Cor. Montcalm (1 blk. east of Woodward)

FRIDAY, SEPT. 20 8:30 P.M. Promptly! CARNEGIE HALL

A Meeting to Honor and Uphold the Recent Decisions of the

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

— Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities —

— End the Blacklist —

DALTON TRUMBO — "Who Is Robert Rich?"
Screen Writer

Hugh H. Wilson — "Civil Liberty Is YOUR Business!"
Princeton University

Sponsored by: EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
Harvey O'Connor, Chairman — Corliss Lamont, Vice-Chairman

ADMISSION: $1.50 For Tickets: 421 Seventh Ave., New York City 1 OX 5-2863

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for a weekend, fine enough for a season's stay. Luxury and comfort in a fireproof building. AIR-CONDITIONED and ELEVATOR-SERVICED . . . Unexcelled cuisine. Tops for sports. Nat Manners Orchestra; Benito & Gloria, dance team . . . Sophisticated entertainment.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N.Y. ● Tel. Mahopac 8-3449
In N.Y.C. Phone (local rate): FAirbanks 5-7227

West Point Farms

RELAX Formerly Lewisohn estate. Rooms w. private bath. 40 mi. from N. Y. Charcoal broiled foods. Latest swim-pool. Golfing next door. Reserve now.
Central Valley, N. Y.
WAbash 8-7895

MUSIC and CHARM, we have BOTH

Arrowhead Lodge

in ELLENVILLE, N Y.

Empire State Music Festival 1½ miles away. Clay tennis courts, entertainment, folk, square and social dancing. Painting, arts and crafts. Golf, all sports. 2 hrs. from N.Y.C. (Thruway)

Call DE 2-4578 Ellenville 502

REAL ESTATE

FOR SALE: Attractive country properties in Litchfield County, Conn., and Berkshire County, Mass. Reasonably priced. **ASHLEY FALLS REALTY CO., Ashley Falls, Mass.**

POSITIONS WANTED

SECRETARY, experienced, competent, mature personable cultured woman with common sense, tact, initiative, seeks interesting position. **Box 439, c/o The Nation.**

BRIGHT young Public Relations man seeks "room to glow." Six years in broadcasting and all phases of P.R. **Box 441, c/o The Nation.**

PERSONALS

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price. $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Unconditional money-back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. **Steven N. Williams, Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.**

IMPORTED BICYCLE—26" Wheel, Coaster and Hand Brake, with Pump and tool bag. **SPECIAL $29.95.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking.**

WANTED—Couple or individual to operate Organic Citrus Mail Order Grove. Write **Box 440, c/o The Nation.**

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

$7.42 per inch (minimum)

The NATION

333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Apart from music and movies, there is plenty of *Kunst* around in Munich. In June the old Pinakotek was reopened, and one can walk through its lofty rooms and examine a really gluttonous feast of Rubens, Van Dyck, Titian and others. The new Pianoketek has also been reopened in recent weeks; and for modern art, there is an excellently chosen and hung Miró show in a wing of the Lembach Palais. In the same building there is a fascinating collection of early Kandinskys, donated last year to the city of Munich by Kandinsky's one-time colleague and friend, the painter Gabriele Münter.

A number of Münter's own paintings are hanging in a room next to the Kandinskys, and among them are two portraits of Kandinsky himself. They give a touching and illuminating glimpse of his life with Gabriele: the first is a full-face view of the painter, bearded, wearing a stiff-collar. The other is *Kandinsky at the Harmonium*—and there he is, in a heavily-furnished middle-class sitting-room, playing the harmonium.

Nothing could be less Bohemian than the life of these two artists as it is reflected in these and other pictures exhibited. One imagines them and their colleagues, serious, dedicated, dressing more like bank clerks and school teachers than like painters.

Munich today is quite different, as even a hasty trip to Schwabing will show: there blue jeans outnumber *Lederhosen* twenty to one, and the decorated-by-hand bars and jazz spots look exactly like Greenwich Village. But again like its New York equivalent, Schwabing is only partly Bohemia; it also contains plenty of eminently respectable apartment houses, expensive restaurants and smart shops.

German-made blue jeans never look quite authentic, but the leather jackets often worn with them are the real thing. And this costume is the official uniform of the "wild ones," the *Halbstarke,* the juvenile delinquents, who are the current headache of the Munich police and the big headline-makers in the *8-Uhr Blatt*, the local scandal newspaper. Like the city's population, the rate of juvenile crime is on the increase, and only the brave will walk after dark through the charming English Garden, reminiscent of Central Park in more ways than one.

This is the stratum of violence that lies beneath the glittering surface of German prosperity. Recruits in the new West German Army are given lessons in "citizenship," told how deputies are elected, and how the Republic operates. Their blue-grey uniforms are neatly cut in an American style. Outside the army, their younger brothers—with padded shoulders and bizarre "American" hair-cuts—ride American-style motorcycles and add to the problems that the newly-elected, or re-elected, government will have to face.

Anomalous Oyster

Empty the sea of salt; provide him tears,
Since there's no grain of sand acute enough
To tickle him to his natural fulfillment,
Martyrdom in cancerous creation—
Give him at least the means to weep alone
Upon his outcast state of unnatural
Good health . . . or for quieter sublimation:
Out of salt, drops more whole than the prized jewel
Can be; out of these drops compounding crystal,
Permanent tear, more useful than a pearl.

Crystal is apt to his reflexive use,
Mirrors his minute diet and enlarges
The sea-strainings to his patient appetite . . .
The oyster is a sometime cannibal,
And bears watching for genocidal purpose.
His muscular gesture opens indiscriminate
Welcome to every breed of eggs or larvae.
Better to magnify his diet than add
To his desire; he has grown fat already,
Swollen with thwarting of his baroque genius.

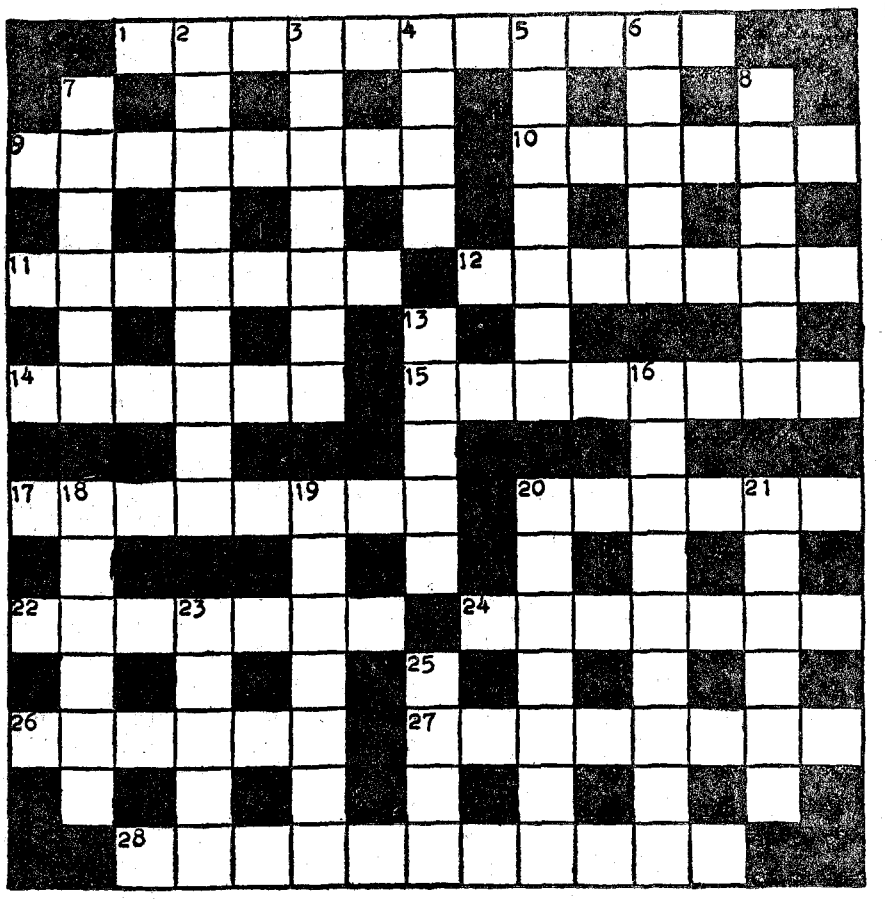
Still, culture has resolved his competition,
And may, digging deeper, come to conceive
His sad solution. Product and ambition
Conforming, make the tears immaculate
And pure, externalize the pearl.

BERNARD HERINGMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 737

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Could be a failure, and so might corn. (11)
9 They're made of serge, and have shattering effects. (8)
10 See 25 down
11 Pointed up for immediate attention, or turned down for later reference. (4-3)
12 Grommets are not necessarily little seers. (7)
14 Take something back concerning the tip. (6)
15 Certainly not Goodacres in South Dakota. (8)
17 Drawing, perhaps, but not of a slave worker. (8)
20 Ennui. (6)
22 Food? Allow some sort to be around. (7)
24 Spectacle? (7)
26 When in gear, a bicycle shows it, in a manner of speaking. (6)
27 A bump on Lake Geneva, as the Swiss say. (One might have owned a castle there.) (8)
28 Conscientious husbands might, and may take hope (at the very slight change?) (4-4, 3)

DOWN:

2 The popular calling of an old leader has been to straighten it out. (6, 3)
3 Russian "Kon Tiki"? (A new version of the story!) (7)
4 Sack, or what it might be kept in. (4)
5 Look in the best part of Monday, having the wherewithal. (7)
6 The day on which one arrived. (5)
7 About to find the old king around in Louisiana, perhaps. (6)
8 Locked up and ran away? (6)
13 A presage of sojourn. (5)
16 Monster-bait, also capital to the prosecuting official. (9)
18 Comment made to change the grade? (6)
19 The cat a bag seems to be made for. (7)
20 Obviously almost all misfortune is caused by money in Russia! (7)
21 Remove the shell! (6)
23 Not to be well yet up and around near the country. (5)
25 and 10 across Sounding how the states were united? (10)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 736

ACROSS: 1 IMPUTES; 5 PRUSSIC; 9 FLICKER; 10 REGALIA; 11 ACCLIMATIZATION; 12 EASY OUT; 13 GAMBREL; 14 STALLED; 17 DETRACT; 20 DISSATISFACTION; 21 CONCEDE; 22 MILLION; 23 SWEETEN; 24 DRYNESS. DOWN: 1 INFLATE; 2 PRINCES; 3 TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT; 4 SERVANT; 5 PARTING; 6 UNGRAMMATICALLY; 7 SALTIER; 8 CHARNEL; 14 SEDUCES; 15 ABSENCE; 16 DRIVE-IN; 17 DEFAMED; 18 ASININE; 19 TENANTS.

RECORDINGS

SAVE ON ALL LP's

- Factory Fresh
- Including hard to get items
- Fast Service • Careful Packing

Write for free catalog

DISCOUNT RECORD SERVICE
Box 175, Radio City Sta., N. Y. 19

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

Complete Personality Analysis from Your Handwriting
Fee $5.00
ALFRED KANFER
62 Leroy St., New York 14, N. Y.
Endorsed by scientific authorities, hospitals, insurance companies, colleges, psych. journals.
Recipient of research grants.

PUBLICATIONS

CENSORSHIP
Are the censors becoming too powerful?
Who are they?
Are you losing your right to read?
EROTIC CENSORSHIP **$1.00**
Victory Publishing Company
Box 366 Springfield 1, Mass.

BRAIN-WASHING
Help fight Religious Brain-Washing, Thought-Control, Superstition. Read **Progressive World**, the Freethinker's magazine. $3 a year. Sample copy free. **Box 27, Clifton, N.J.**

Service for Our Readers from Our Readers' Service

If there's any book you want to buy—you can do so without leaving the comfort of your home. Simply let our Readers' Service Department do your shopping.

Here's all you have to do: send us the name and author and, if possible, the publisher of the book. We'll have it sent directly to you.

If payment is received with your order the books will be sent you post-free; if sent COD, you will be charged the regular price plus postage.

No COD's outside the United States.

Address your orders to:

***The* NATION**
Miss O. Le Pach
Readers Service Department
333 Sixth Avenue, N.Y. 14, N.Y.

Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who Uses THE NATION in the CLASSROOM?

"Its value to our students lies in its integrity, humanity, and the timeliness of the issues and problems selected each week. It is a big factor in helping us to develop intelligent, informed and responsible citizens out of our students."

—Candace Stone,
Chairman Social Science Department, Anderson College, Indiana

"In essence, I have found classroom subscriptions to *The Nation* an invaluable aid in acquainting my students with a liberal approach to contemporary problems."

—Marc Karson,
Associate Professor Political Science, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas

"A student in a basic course in Public Affairs, American Society, or American Government who does not become acquainted with the magazines of opinion should ask for his money back—the course has not taken. Of all weekly magazines, *The Nation* has the longest record in holding a consistently liberal viewpoint, and in opposing privilege in any form. Reading a magazine of critical opinion such as *The Nation*, is one step toward achieving civic competence and should be included as an integral part of training for citizenship."

—J. A. Burkhart, *Professor Political Science, Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri*

"I have used *The Nation* in my classes for many years, along with other weekly and bi-weekly periodicals, and I find that the students always comment on the forthright editorials and the clear, informative articles in it. Your issues contain a wealth of facts which really point the trends."

—Dr. D. F. Fleming, *Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.*

• • •

ED. NOTE: *The Nation* wishes to thank each of the educators who has generously taken time to write us, telling of the contribution we make to the living classroom. It would require pages of space to quote them all here.

• • •

Because America's oldest journal of critical opinion, The Nation, *is unique in its coverage of events — political, economic, military and cultural —you will find it an effective fulcrum in helping you open the minds of your students to the realities of the world surrounding them.*

SPECIAL CLASSROOM RATE: 50c PER MONTH PER STUDENT

in bundle orders of ten copies or more delivered to the same address. Desk copy is supplied free to the teacher. Simply fill out the coupon below for immediate service.

THE NATION

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
THE NATION
333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, N. Y.

Please send me:

_____ copies per month for _____ months.
(minimum order 10 copies per month)

Name_____

Address_____

_____

9-14-57

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED